

The VOICE OF LABOR

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HAIL! YOUNG RUSSIA!

The Canadian---One Big Union

SO much arrant nonsense has been disseminated as information concerning the One Big Union movement in Canada, both by its opponents and its admirers and advocates, particularly in the U. S. A., that the writer of this series of articles, who was a delegate to both The B. C. Federation of Labor Convention and The Western Conference desires to properly set forth the various events, in their inter-relation, as they occurred. To be wounded by enemies is natural and is the inevitable result of battle, but to be wounded in the house of one's friends is more dangerous than any hurt that can be imagined. In the hope that both our enemies and friends will receive a little of the evidently much needed enlightenment these few lines are penned.

THE AUTHOR.

Prologue—The Historic Background of the Movement.

The first Annual Convention of The B. C. Federation of Labor, held at Victoria, B. C., in the year 1911, endorsed by resolution the principle of Industrial Organization. Similar resolutions have been put and carried at all succeeding conventions of that body until 1918. The 1919 B. C. Federation of Labor Convention will be reviewed briefly later on.

During the year 1912, The Vancouver Trades and Labor Council, circularized all Trades and Labor Councils and Central Labor Councils on the North American Continent, asking these bodies to discuss and take a vote on their position respecting the idea of Industrial Unionism. Many of the replies received at that time were favorable; yet caustic enquiries were made of the Vancouver Trades and Labor Council by A. F. of L. officials as to what that body meant by sending unauthorized letters to labor bodies throughout the country.

The Necessity for Change

All this shows that for many years a growing appreciation of the necessity for some extension of the almost static structure of unionism expressed in the organization of the A. F. of L., existed in the "rank-and-file." The war conditions, with the vast speeding up of industry and the dilution of labor—destruction of the alleged skill possessed by some workers—brought this point out very vividly. As far as Western Canada was concerned it was felt in 1918 that some steps must be taken to lift Trades Unionism out of the swamp of reaction and inaction into which it had, through time, fallen. It was more or less clearly understood that if industrial conditions and relations persisted in undergoing rapid changes, then, the workers' organizations must also change their form and character to suit the new needs and requirements necessarily arising out of these rapidly changing relationships. Consequently, many representatives of the Labor Movement in Western Canada went to The Trades and Labor Congress of Canada (1918), held in Quebec City, in the high hope that Congress would recognize at least some of these vast industrial

changes and attempt to cope with them. Great disappointment was the lot of these Western delegates, for, far from receiving a sympathetic hearing, they were ruthlessly denied any kind of hearing at all on their important questions. Resolutions which had been well prepared and vigorously discussed by Local Unions, and handed to their delegates as instructions, were swept aside in Congress by the autocratic broom of officialdom, tied to the Gompers' machine and blinded by huge banks of governmental fog. So drastic and overbearing were the measures and attitude taken by Congress officials that the whole of the Western delegation held a caucus. This was in September of 1918. The caucus decided then and there to call a convention of all Trades Union bodies for some time early in the next year to decide upon a line of action and future policy of Western Canadian Labor. At that time the thoughts of these delegates took them no further than the possibility of holding a Western Conference ahead of the next Congress (1919), deciding upon the new policy and then submitting, as vigorously as they could, such policy to Congress. Thus did the elected mouthpieces of the Western Labor movement think at that time. The "rank-and-file" had also been watching and thinking and had decided that some steps must be taken that would disentangle them from the government-owned and corporation-ruled reactionary Congress and A. F. of L. In the meantime a convention of railroad shopmen was held (comprising all workers of all railroad shops of Canada), and here the new note was again struck. This was in December of last year (1918). At this convention, covering organizations from the East as well as from the West, the question of then and there forming an Industrial Organization of all railroad shopmen in Canada was defeated by a majority only of two votes. But conditions were changing rapidly and organized workers everywhere, particularly in the West, began to recognize the importance of doing something in order to prepare for the inevitable post-bellum conditions. The war had ceased and the labor market gave unmistakable signs of declining. The call for the Western Conference had been sent. The "rank-and-file," more especially the awakened and aggressive portion, sensing the need of something to deal with the problem confronting them, sent delegates to that convention, and sent also with those delegates instructions as to what they required them to do. Herein can be demonstrated the gross untruthfulness of those who state that the result of the Calgary Conference was the work of a few hairbrained fanatics who used the movement to further their own personal views and ends. In the first chapter we will discuss the work of The B. C. Federation of Labor, after which we can deal with The Western Conference.

These articles will be continued in the next few issues of the Voice of Labor, and on completion will be published in pamphlet form.

November 7th, 1919

By Ben Gitlow

ON November 7th, 1919, the Workers Republic of Russia will be two years old. The combined forces of world capital using the Military butchers of their governments have for two years attempted to crush the Russian workers and have failed. The revolution is still victorious. The capitalist class and their bloody governments are trembling. November 7th, the Second Anniversary of the Soviet Government of Russia will be the occasion for workers the world over to demonstrate their class solidarity and loyalty to their Russian brothers. The workers will on that day proclaim to the terror of the capitalist class their determination to end the greedy rule of world capitalism. The Russian Revolution was born out of the bloody carnage of the world war. When capitalism was using workers as cannon fodder, when the products of labor were consumed in ruthless slaughter of human lives, when homes were shattered by shell and destroyed, when women and children were starved and every vestige of civilized conduct forgotten, the Russian workers Republic came with its defiant challenge to the capitalist world order.

The Soviet Government of Russia, lied about, despised and feared by the capitalist class, inscribes upon its red revolutionary banner its kinship with the exploited workers of all lands. Its men and women are giving daily their blood in the hope that in their success the workers of all lands will find inspiration and aid in their titanic struggles to overthrow capitalism.

The workers of Russia when they seized power declared that the land and the natural wealth of the country as well as the products of labor were hereafter to be used for the welfare and enjoyment of all the people in Russia who render useful service

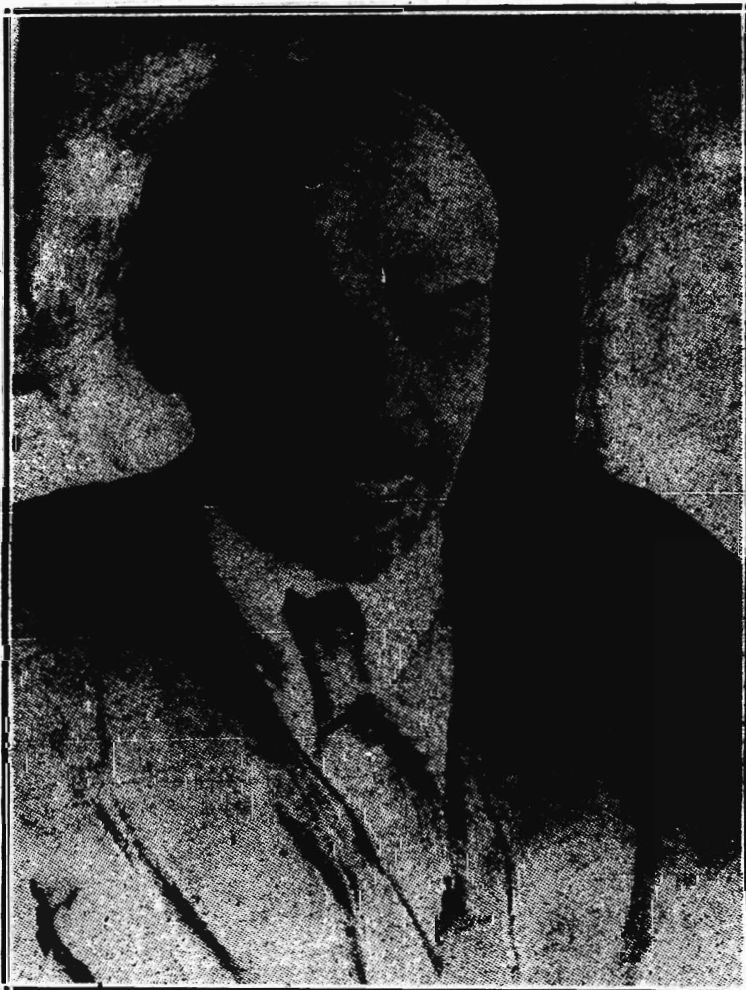
to society. They heralded the end of capitalist society that recognized the right of a few individuals to enjoy all the comforts and luxuries of the world through the exploitation, misery, starvation and murder of millions of workers. To the workers of the world the Russian Workers' Republic is the culmination of the age-long struggle against wage slavery. To them it means the end of strikes, the end of economic servitude to a boss, the end of exploitation, the end of capitalist militarism with its oppression

and wars. To the capitalists the end of the domination and rule of the capitalist class, expropriation of their wealth and ruin. To the worker, Bolshevism is life; to the Capitalist, Bolshevism is death. The Russian workers' government is Bolshevism applied to industry and government. Hence the mad howls of the savage wolves of Capitalism that the cause of the Russian workers be drowned in blood. Hence the readiness of capitalist government to use ignorant and deceived workers in a campaign of military intervention to spill the blood of their fellow workers.

The workers the world over in their celebration must not forget to pay a fitting tribute to the revolutionary workers of Hungary who despite enormous odds in a heroic effort briefly for a few months challenged world capi-

talism. Soviet Hungary, overthrown by an avenging capitalist class, the blood of her massacred workers following in streams in the gutters of Budapest, should be the occasion for renewed determination to carry the class war on against the savage butchers of the workers.

Karl Liebknecht, Rosa Luxemburg and all the other martyrs of the world revolution of the working class should be held up as an example of the devotion and sacrifice demanded by the cause.



NICHOLAI LENIN
Chairman at the Central Committee of the All Russian Soviets



NICHOLAI LENIN
Chairman at the Central Committee of the All Russian
Soviets

The Miners Unrest

By A. F. Key

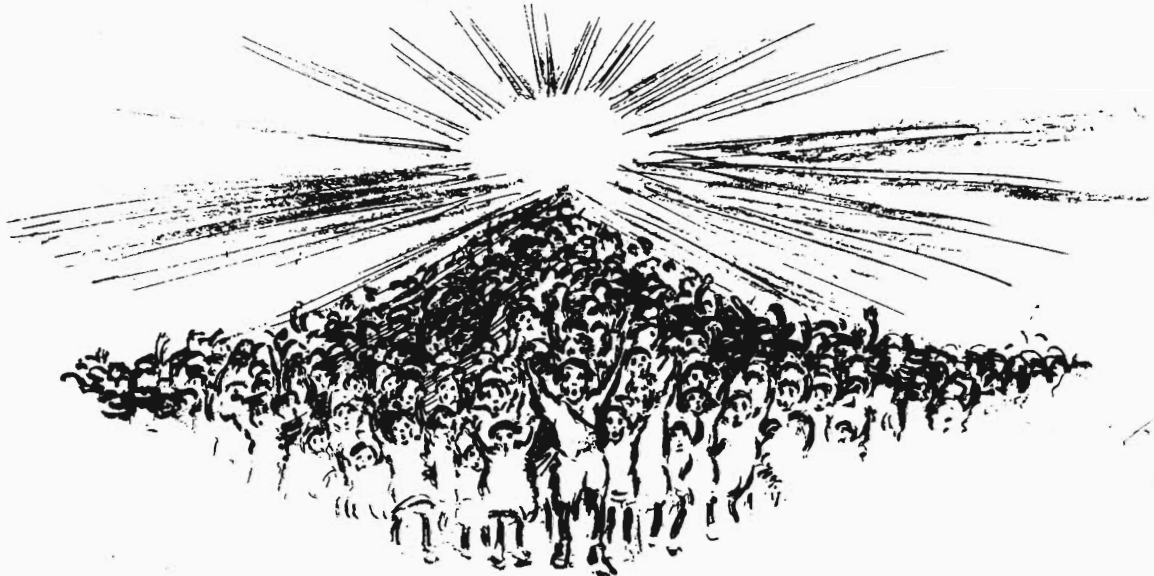
THE miners' strike at the time of writing seems to be imminent, and already in some parts of West Virginia the men have quit work as a protest against the importation of armed thugs into the mining districts. Hundreds of gunmen have recently been brought into the company owned towns vested with the authority of deputies by the company controlled sheriffs. Yet when the workers prepare to arms themselves, they are accused of seeking the use of force, while in reality, they are merely doing this for self-protection.

It is evident that President Wilson, or rather the name of Wilson, will be signed to all manner of threats and coercions, and that if the operators consider it necessary, the armed forces will be used to drive these men back. It has also been rumored that a draft law may be put into effect which will call all the eligible men into the army and then put them to work as scabs under military orders. This measure was used in the great French strike in 1910, when strikers were compelled to break their own strike at the point of the bayonet. The French workers at that time were too well disciplined with

militarism to offer any opposition to this action, but here in America, where militarism as yet has not got a firm grip, it only requires one aggressive action on the part of the strikers as a whole to immediately nullify any such tyrannical measure.

The miners' organizations are not efficient fighting machines when their enemy happens to be organized on an industrial basis. Although the miners are slightly better organized than the majority of A. F. of L. unions, their employers have done what the workers should have accomplished at their Cleveland convention in September, that is—organize themselves on an industrial basis. The bosses have a 100 per cent. association to protect their interests, with the armed forces to back them up in any of their moves, while the workers have not even got the power to completely tie up their industry because of a reactionary officialdom that sidetracked the idea of the One Big Union.

The capitalist class and the working class invariably fight over the usually veiled question of who shall control the industries, and the capitalist, by surrendering, in a crisis such as this, would be losing power in favor of the workers.



OUT OF THE SUNSET

By Louise Bryant

(Dedicated to British Diplomacy)

**We are the Russian children
Murdered by British guns!**
British tanks have been our ruin,
British gas has sucked our breath,
British brains contrived against us,
British schemes have caused our death.

**We shall rise a phantom army,
We shall march on silent feet**

Into every British household,
Into every British street. . . .
Into every sun-filled morning,
Into every star-filled night,
'Till the blossoms wither blackly
And your blood is cold with fright. . . .

**We are the Russian children
Murdered by British guns!**



OUT OF THE SUNSET

By Louise Bryant

(Dedicated to British Diplomacy)

The Compositors Vacation

By Al. Seaman

THE printing situation in New York is encouraging, but, at the same time, bewildering even to the "Bolshevik," as the strikers are now termed by their International officers.

It is encouraging in the sense that the "economic determinism," which in plain language means a "meal ticket," has brought about a mass of action which has sprung quite a few of the labor fakirs into the air, and landed them on mother earth with a nasty bump.

Incidentally, another thing that the compositors are congratulating themselves upon is the spiking of the guns belonging to that secret organization which previously existed within the typographical union. This society dominated the union affairs, had the monopoly of the good jobs both within the union and outside which had the result of making a reactionary organization out of what should have been a progressive one.

Spontaneous Action

When the pressmen and feeders were locked out by the bosses, the rank and file of the typographical union decided to take a "vacation." This action was not endorsed by officialdom, but was a spontaneous movement by the men on the job and completed the disorganization of the printing trades that the pressmen and feeders had started. Their union leaders at first ordered them back to work, but the situation was complex as these men had not gone on strike, they had not quit their job, they were not locked out, but all they had done was to rest up for the good of their health. Then the A. F. of L. decided to take a hand in an attempt to get the compositors to scab upon their fellow-workers. The executive council of the American Federation of Labor issued an ultimatum calling upon the Central Federated Council of New

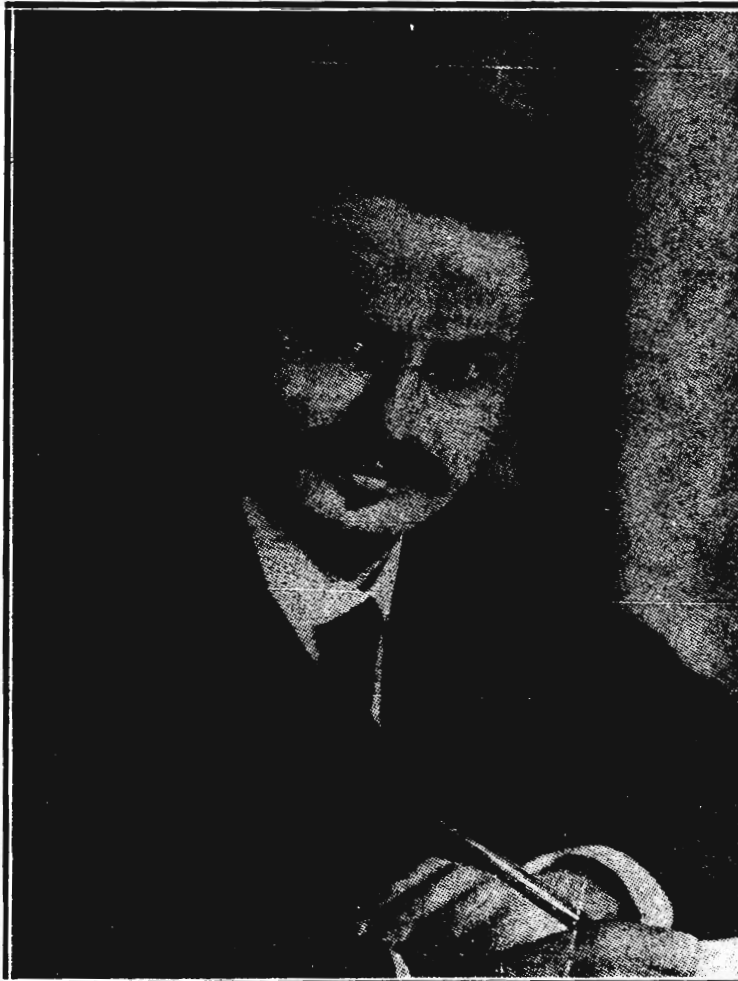
York to unseat the delegates of the pressmen and rescind whatever action it had taken in support of these organizations; and although Hugh Frayne, A. F. of L. organizer, was present to support this mandate, he was somehow overlooked in the rush to vote it down.

So far, however, there has been no co-ordination between the various crafts affected by the lock-out, they have never attempted to join hands and put up a united front to the boss printers. This evidently is

due to the "caste" that still exhibits itself in the printing trades. The "comps" are considered somewhat superior to the pressmen and feeders, so therefore these two crafts cannot intermix.

A Printing Trades' Union

The strike itself has been a wonderful experience to untried men, and a lesson to the working-class and especially to those in the printing trades of class solidarity during a crisis. It is hardly possible, however, that an industrial union will be the outcome unless the employers and International officers unconsciously drive the men to that point. There will eventually come a time when the rank and file will organize a One Big Union of the printing trades for their own protection against the forces of capitalism. That moment may be during this



L. Trotzky

Peoples' Commissar of Army and Navy

crisis, for if the International officers, along with the bosses, continue their present tactics of depriving the men of the chance to make a livelihood merely because the men have shown disapproval of officialdom's actions, the rank and file will have no other alternative, but when the opportunity presents itself, is there anyone ready to grasp it and form the nucleus of A PRINTING TRADES' UNION?



L. Trozky

Peoples Commissar of Army and Navy

Factory Control In Russia

By John Reed

SESTRORETZK lies about half an hour by train from Petrograd, on the Gulf of Finland. All the guide-books of before the war describe it as a fashionable summer resort for the leisure class of the capital, the same sort of place as Long Beach is for the leisure class of New York. After describing this part of it, the guide-book may mention casually that there is also located the Sestroretzk Arms Factory, where guns were made for the armies of the Tzar, and which was founded by Peter the Great in 1714.

After the Revolution, however, the "summer-resort" receded into the background, and Sestroretzk became noted for the Arms Factory—that is to say, the *workers* in the Arms Factory.

I visited Sestroretzk about the middle of October, 1917, while the Kerensky Government was still in power. Already, however, the revolutionary transformation in the factory was far advanced. This was true of all the government factories—for Sestroretzk was a government works. The reason for this was very simple. The Government factories were administered by appointees of the Tzar's Court—usually incompetent old army officers with a pull, who, being without any personal responsibility and without any "stake" in the business used it merely as a sort of graft. Moreover, the Government factories were militarized and the commanding officer had the power of life and death over the men, while he exercised with ruthless brutality. Workers who didn't submit were immediately drafted into the army and sent to the front. Men who went on strike were court-martialled and some of them sent to Siberia. Labor organizations, of course, were strictly prohibited. Then came the Revolution of March, 1917. With the fall of the Tzar, his direct appointees in control of the Government factories also fell. The worst tyrannical officials ran away. The long-suffering workers arose and killed the most brutal, beat others and arrested the rest. The management of the Government factories collapsed with the Government, and the workers, faced with the prospect of closing down the works, were forced to try and keep them going.

Sestroretzk Leads

Sestroretzk, the largest and most important of the four Government factories, employing 8,000 men, took the lead.

A committee composed of delegates from each department of the works held a meeting. This was the beginning of the vast net-work of Factory Shop Committees which afterwards spread over all Russian industry. This committee called a conference, first of the gun works, and then later of all the Government factories, in April, 1917.

The conditions in these Government munitions plants were extraordinary. In the first place, the new Provisional Government had inherited all the vast confusion of the Tzardom. It was hopelessly involved

in political complications and in reorganizing the army at the front. For several months there was no time to interfere in the operation of the munition plants, which were, moreover, delivering regularly their quota of war-materials.

Unlike the private factories, which depended upon the regular machinery of business, and where the owner was always on the job, the Government plants had certain fixed orders to fill, and the workers had a wonderful opportunity to make experiments in industrial control without official interference. And so, when finally the Kerensky Government turned its attention to Sestroretzk, workers control was too firmly established to be upset, no matter how hard the Government tried.

What Had Been Done

When I was in Sestroretzk, it was the model factory of the Petrograd District, and well illustrated the constructive and creative powers of the Proletarian Dictatorship. Hours of work had been reduced 10 to 8; Wages raised 45 per cent; Production had been increased 20 per cent; the cost of operation had been about cut in half.

The Factory Shop Committee was practically in complete control. All the former administrators had run away, or been fired, except three technicians. Konovalov, the chief engineer, brother of the Minister of Commerce and Industry in the Kerensky Government, by the way—was told to leave on the day I went through the plant. He had attempted to restore the old insulting discipline in the factory.

Two great additional buildings had been begun by the Tzar's Government in 1914, and still loomed unfinished, a monument of graft and waste. The committee discovered that dishonest contractors had put into it rotten concrete and flawed steel. The committee fired the contractors, mobilized the factory hands and completed the two buildings in three months at cost, using the best materials.

Formerly there had been a tiny military hospital in the place, for soldiers only, with five beds and one doctor. The committee built a new brick hospital open to all workers, with seventy-five beds, three doctors, a nurse and a dentist. Formerly the Government had allowed 6,000 rubles a year for this work. Now it cost 15,000 a month. The Kerensky Government squealed, but it had to pay. Formerly a sick workman got half pay, now he received his full wages. One per cent of every worker's wages went to support the hospital. Although Sestroretzk had existed for three centuries, there never had been a sewer system in the town. The cost of emptying cesspools of the factory and houses of the officials alone had cost 27,000 rubles a year. The committee had installed a permanent new system of sewage filtration at a cost of 6,000 rubles, whose operation cost about 2,000 a year.

When the coal supply ran low, the Committee sent a delegate all the way to Don Basin to get some, which he did by negotiation with coal-miners' and railroad mens' unions.

The committee then went into the business of supplying the workers' needs. This was necessary because of the complete breakdown of transportation and distribution facilities all over the country, which raised over the cities the continual threat of famine. The committee bought an old mill, got some second-hand milling machinery in Petrograd, and began to make flour. Meat, cabbage and other necessities were bought by travelling delegates and sent to Sestroretzk by car-loads. 2,000,000 rubles was raised by the committee and sent to England to purchase clothes and shoes for the workers.

Discipline

The committee had absolute control over the hiring and firing of all workers. Through it the workers controlled also the election of all technicians and members of the administration.

Formerly many wealthy and noble young men had escaped military service by getting a fake "job" through "influence," in the factory. These loafers were immediately cleared out by the committee and then forced to go into the army. Moreover, the widespread unemployment forced the committee to take stringent measures so that nobody not absolutely dependent on his wages should take the place of a worker. If it was discovered that any man in the factory owned more than 15 *dessiatines* of land, or received any other income, he was fired.

The day I was in Sestroretzk a great factory meeting was held after working hours, which voted unanimously a resolution against Drunkenness—a weakness for which Sestroretzk had always been noted. In part, the resolution said, "We are not puritans, we do not wish to interfere with a man's personal liberty, but the Revolution demands clear brains and iron wills, which are obscured and weakened by liquor. Moreover, a drunken man is a disgrace to a free people. Comrades, if you must get drunk do so in the privacy of your own homes. If you meet a drunken man in a public place, lead him home to his wife.

Town Politics

Before the organization of the District Soviet of Workers and Soldiers, the Factory Shop Committee had been the supreme ruling body, not only of the workers, but also of the town. This was perfectly natural since in winter the town lived by and for the factory. In those days even divorces were granted by the committee. Later, however, with the organization of the Soviets in Petrograd, Sestroretzk, in common with all other places within a radius of 50 versts from Petrograd, organized a District Soviet, which had its delegates in the Petrograd body.

A Bolshevik secret branch had existed in the Arms Factory even under the Tzar. After the Revolution the great mass of the workers were consistently and violently Bolshevik.

When the District Soviet was organized, although the workers were in the vast majority, they did not at

that time insist upon Proletarian Dictatorship. All parties and classes were admitted to the town government.

A central council of 50 was elected, and the council in turn elected an executive committee of 3, who managed the town organization. These 3 were paid a salary of 500 rubles a month. (In other townships it was 100-150.) The committee of 3 appointed committees on Housing, Food, Finance, Land, Schools and Education, Labor, Sanitation, Taxes, Statistics and Highways.

When I was in Sestroretzk the council of 50 was composed of 25 Bolsheviks, 4 Mensheviks, 8 Socialist Revolutionaries, 4 Cadets, 8 landowning peasants representing village communities and 1 Jew.

Formerly, the President of the Local Zemstvo was appointed by the Nobles, Assembly of the District, co-operating with land-owners. Now he was elected by universal suffrage. One Judge was elected by the Zemstvo—two by the Soviet.

Americans Prominent

Three "Americans" were the leaders in Sestroretzk, and it was due to their organizing genius and their experience in American industrial processes which was responsible for the miracles achieved at Sestroretzk. It can truly be said that the Factory Shop Committee system was originated by them.

First and foremost was Sam Boska, once walking delegate of the Carpenter's Union No. 1001 in New York, now member of the Central Executive Committee of All Russian Soviets.

Manyinin, once well-known in New York, where he was head of a Russian Co-operative Machine Shop at 176 Worth Street, now Mayor of Sestroretzk.

Zorine, who was in New York with Trotsky. Chairman of the Bolshevik faction.

Zorine later became special representative of the Committee for the Fight Against Counter-Revolution.

It was the Sestroretzk factory which delivered arms to the Red Guard of Petrograd upon Trotsky's orders—thus first arming the Red Guard. It was Sestroretzk which sent a guard of workers from the North when Kornilov came.



The Voice of Labor

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How to Help

THIS paper is distributed by volunteer Committees organized in the shops by the workers themselves. Do you like it? Do you think it worth while helping?

If you do, this is how you can help:

Organize a Committee in your shop—or among your fellow-workers; fellows you know are “all right”—even if there are only one or two of you. Get together and talk it over. Have a smoker, a lecture of some kind or an entertainment by which you can raise a little money. If you want speakers, write to us.

With this money order a few hundred copies of THE VOICE OF LABOR, and distribute them to the workers On The Job. If you can sell them, so much the better; if not, give them away.

Increase your Committee by adding to it other workers who are interested. Start new Committees in other shops.

Use these Committees to spread the ideas of Industrial Unionism and Communism.

This is YOUR paper. Write us articles. Criticize the paper. Ask for anything you want to know about, and we'll try to tell you. Get subscribers. Get people interested. It is up to you.

If the paper succeeds, we'll make it larger, publish pictures, and keep you thoroughly informed of what is REALLY going on in the Labor Movement, both here and abroad.

DUE TO THE HIGH COST of printing we are unable to produce this number in colors. We felt that our readers would prefer the additional 16 pages of reading matter, and we were therefore compelled to drop the color scheme.

What's Going On

THE LONGSHOREMEN of New York are still out for the 44-hour week and \$1 an hour. Everything seems to indicate that the large majority of these men will accept no compromise, but the union leaders are gradually splitting up the rank and file by the use of very shrewd tactics.

Three times the strike has been declared settled by T. V. Q'Connor, International President, and each time a number of men have shown up for work only to be chased away by the out and outers.

Unfortunately, a large percentage of the men are following the leadership of officials, who though opposed to O'Connor, are just as unscrupulous and as reactionary.

THE SENATE COMMITTEE on Labor recently heard the testimony of Lieut. D. C. Van Buren, who has been investigating radical activities in Gary, Ind., since the town was placed under martial law. Some of the testimony submitted showed “That an effort was made among the foreign element to form a Red Army of a military character to be used in overthrowing the government by force” . . . “That the agitators and organizers were working under instructions given in a manifesto issued at the Internationale at Moscow March 2, 1919, signed by Lenin and Trotsky.”

With such an imagination, this man should be an Associated Press writer.

THE NEW YORK EXPRESSMEN returned to work after hearing a threat that soldiers would be used to break the strike. None of their demands were granted.

Instead of expressing their opinions, these men are now expressing packages.

AS WE EXPECTED, the Industrial Conference ended before it began, and all that's left are our representatives, which was to be expected. The public always gets left. And now Sammy is declaring war on the capitalists by calling a conference of International officers.

This must be the “Red Terror” that the capitalist press howls about.

SIXTY WHITE MEN LYNCHED Eugene Hamilton, a negro boy, nine years old, on October 17th at Macon, Ga. “Hamilton was carried to a bridge and there tied hand and foot after which he was riddled with bullets,” says the Pittsburgh *American*.

In the same issue of this paper we read. “The labor agitator who entices the negro to the North by recounting the iniquities of the South is reprobated as one of the disturbing forces in the Negro's happiness” . . . “There never was a time when the State was so ready to give adequate educational advantages to the negroes.” . . . “With such prospects for improving the educational conditions, incendiary, false charges and the continual harping on injustices of the white to the negro are doing great harm.” . . .

THE SEATTLE "FORGE" says—"After making speaking tour of the country, Woodrow Wilson is now lying in bed."

We understand that he is doing this without any mental effort.

CHARGING THAT PRESIDENT WILSON had packed the Federal trade commission with employees who were Socialists and Bolsheviks, Senator Watson of Indiana, in the U. S. Senate, the other day, demanded an immediate investigation of President Wilson's sympathy with alleged "reds."

"Yes, my dear Watson," said Sherlock Holmes, "The joke is on you."

WE NOTICE THAT an eminent European statesman says, "Unless something is done before winter, a terrible catastrophe will overwhelm Europe, in which civilization itself may perish." Don't worry, boys! That only means that there'll be Workers' Republics in Europe, and the statesmen will have to go to work.

SANCTION OUR STRIKE and give us financial support or we will give you back your charter!" was the resolution addressed to the International officers of the Boilermakers, passed by a local union at Long Beach, Cal. The One Big Union was cheered for three minutes.

Sammy Gompers must be as busy as a one-eyed dog in a butcher shop.

A CERTAIN ENGLISH Labor Leader and Member of Parliament has arrived in this country to sponsor the new Labor Party. We feel sure he could offer a solution to the land problem if we would only let Ben Till-it.

THAT ASTOR BABY

Smith—I see by the papers that this here Astor baby is only 7 years old, and has got \$30,000,000. It says that when he gets to be 21 he'll have \$80,000,000.

Jones—Some wages! I'd like to get a job in the place that baby works.

Brown—Aw, gone on! How d'ye mean, "works"? He don't get no wages like that for straight work; he must do piece-work, or perhaps he piles up a lot of overtime.

Smith—What's his trade? I don't know any union with a scale like that.

Jones—Perhaps he saved his wages—went without eating, or something like that. The Boss give us a speech yesterday, where he said that any workin' man that saved his wages could get to be Rockefeller in a short time.

Smith—Why, a baby like that wouldn't have to work. I guess he's got brains—he's probably got somebody workin' for him.

Brown—Yet they talk about Child Labor! Why, it's the only kind of labor that pays, according to this. If I'd gone into a factory when I was a baby I'd be on Easy Street now.

Jones—Well, I don't understand it. I got three kids—all of 'em over seven, and not one has made a cent yet. I'm going home and put 'em to work.

DEAR SIR:

Referring to an article in your issue of Oct. 1st, over the signature of H. M. Rectamus of Washington, D. C., regarding the One Big Union, Mr. Rectamus surely has not gone very deeply into unionism or he could see that the trade or craft unions are not able or do not want to cope with the situation that confronts them to-day. Organized labor as well as unorganized labor are worse off at the present time than they were five years ago. From 1914 to the signing of the armistice prices of the necessities of life increased 77 per cent., while the average increase to labor of all kinds was only 34½ per cent., that is, for what the working man could buy for \$1 in 1914 in the way of food, clothing, etc., in November, 1918, he paid \$1.77, while for the same work for which he received \$1 in 1914, in November, 1918, he received only \$1.34½. Why has not the trade union kept pace with the times? Because they are not organized right. Organize into One Big Union and come together on the political field under the banner of a distinct revolutionary political party, governed by the workers' class interests, and on the industrial field under the banner of one industrial union, to take and to hold all means of production and distribution, and to run them for the benefit of all wealth producers. A labor organization to represent the working class must have two things in view.

It must combine wage workers in such a way that it can successfully fight the battles and protect the interests of the workers in their efforts for less hours, better conditions and more wages.

It must offer a final solution of the labor problem, an emancipation from strikes, lockouts, jailing of strikers and the scabbery of the workers against one another. What has the trade union to offer? A fair day's pay for a fair day's work. What is a fair day's pay? All we produce, or allowing one-fifth of the people who do not produce anything except misery to take away four-fifths. Think it over, investigate the One Big Union, get it's fundamental principles and see what it will do for the wage slave of to-day.

Fraternally yours,

R. D. GUSS.

GENERAL ROZANIFF, the Russian commander in Siberia, has apologized to General Grave, the American commander, for the incident at Iman, Siberia, involving the flogging of an American soldier who, with his captain, was captured by Cossacks.

Everything settled to the mutual satisfaction of all parties—except the American soldier.

THERE ARE NOW Policemen's Unions affiliated with the American Federation of Labor in 37 cities: Oklahoma City, Okla., Knoxville, Tenn., Peoria, Ill., Washington, D. C., Jersey City, N. J., Macon, Georgia, Cumberland, Md., Tulsa, Okla., Fort Worth, Tex., East St. Louis, Ill., Norfolk, Va., Pueblo, Col., Boston, Mass., Warren, O., Clarksburg, W. Va., Portland, Ore., St. Paul, Minn., Meridian, Miss., Evansville, Ind., Terre Haute, Ind., Moberly, Mo., Los Angeles, Cal., Wheeling, W. Va., Chattanooga, Tenn., Hattiesburg, Miss., Miami, Fla., Superior, Wis., Huntington, W. Va., Portsmouth, Va., Richmond, Cal., Key West, Fla., Janesville, O., St. Joseph, Mo., Lynn, Mass., Vicksburg, Miss., Belleville, Ill., Topeka, Kan.

Is your town lined up? If not, show this to your cops.

Labor Unions in the Russian Revolt

By N. P. Aviloff

Translated By C. O'Shannon

DURING the reign of Kerensky in Russia, the labor unions and professional organizations had occupied the major portion of their efforts in fighting for the eight-hour day and increases in wages. The price of foodstuffs had increased tremendously during the war, while the increase in wages had been slight and only affected very few industries—the most essential to war production.

The capitalists, supported by the middle-class government of Kerensky, showed no benevolence towards the workers but haggled with them over every penny and quite often drove them into striking. Then the fight for the minimum wage commenced and it was only due to a spirited revolutionary attack that the workers defeated the capitalists. The capitalists accepted this defeat in very bad grace and made complaints to the Government on the impossibility of keeping their factories going if these exorbitant wages must be paid to the workers. They claimed that the disorganization of industry was directly due to the fabulous demands made.

In spite of the complaints of the capitalists against the raising in wages, the unheard-of exploitation of the workers went on at high pressure and the price of necessary commodities rose enormously, so that from time to time the workers were compelled to demand increases of wages in order to live.

The Fixing of Wage Scales

The craft unions and their federations had not only to lead a campaign for the raising in wages, but they also had to equalize wage scales in different industries, regulating these according to the difficulty and intricacy of the labor. Begun before the October Revolution by the unions of the metal and typographical workers, this campaign was taken up afterwards by all the unions.

Workers' Control of Industry

However, the organization of unions, the fight for the eight-hour day, and the raising in wages was not the whole story. The professional organizations took an active part in the organization of workers' control and devoted many efforts to preventing the complete disorganization of production by the profiteering capitalists.

In the early days of the Revolution—the period in which the idea of workers' control came into being—it was the factory committees that undertook to develop the idea of workers' control, and this was done in the ensuing months.

The craft unions believed that it was necessary to bring this control into their own hands in order to centralize it and introduce Committees of Economic Control for each industrial organization in order to benefit the people as a whole, rather than adjust the existing conditions temporarily in individual factories.

In addition to workers' control, the craft unions sought to extend their activities to the organization of production and stop the complete destruction of industry. They sent their delegates into the managerial

offices in order to help in the fight against the disorganization of manufacturing concerns and against the disorganizers themselves—the capitalists.

The Political and Industrial Struggle

All this work was often interrupted by political events. During the eight months of capitalist-social-patriot rule the unions applied themselves not only to industrial problems, but also to political questions, for they realized that the two were inseparable and that if the political situation remained the same, the conditions of the working class would gradually become worse and all its victories would be undone. That is why the unions abandoned their industrial activity in October and gave themselves up entirely to the political fight, playing during the October Revolution the role which corresponded to their organizing capacity.

The fall of the capitalists from power brought a great change in the life of the working class and its industrial organizations, and it became necessary to bring all the strength of the unions to bear in order to solve the new and hitherto unknown problems. Strikes were found to be unnecessary; "Under the government of the workers and peasants there is no room for strikes," said the men, and they caused the strike movement to cease so soon as the Revolution was accomplished.

Organizing Industry

It now became necessary to change the form of the labor unions from fighting organizations directed against the bosses to auxiliary organizations of the State itself, and if Lenin, in April, 1917, could find no other expression than that of "a morass" to define the labor movement he now renders homage to the unions for the fine part they played in the reorganization of our national industries.

The General Staff of the October Revolution was posted in the Smolny Institute on the lower floors occupied by the Central Committee of the professional organizations of all Russia. It was there the Government of Workers and Peasants was organized and it was from there that the Revolutionary Bureau of the Directorate of the Communist Party in Petrograd directed the labor movement in that city.

Building the Workers' Republic

At the moment of the October Revolution our industries were on the verge of complete disorder; the factories were closing down in scores and the manufacturers were abandoning their businesses and flying, after pillaging as much as possible. In face of this state of affairs the working class did not remain inactive but set itself to work out, by its own methods, the resumption of production. Labor control was intensified. The shops' committees obtained the right, under the direction of the unions, to control the economic life of the workshops and to remove all the elements that were impeding the development of industry. The factories had to produce more. The shops' committees boldly took this complicated task

upon themselves and prevented the complete break-

The unions gave a correct interpretation to the control of the whole industrial life of the works and factories and carried it out in a methodical and regular manner. In matters affecting the regularization and the organization of industry the unions and shops' committees joined all the official organs of management and organization and thus they assured the correct solution of all questions touching the organization of our industry. The unions, besides participating in the State organs, worked also at increasing our production. It was necessary to take measures for increasing labor production in order to keep the factories and works going. This could be done only by means of the exact determination of the minimum daily production for each worker. When the manufacturers were accused of sabotage and the reduction and even premeditated suspension of labor in their factories, they always justified themselves by saying that the increased wages and the enormous reduction in the production of labor on the part of the workers no longer gave them the possibility of continuing production. But when the Workers' and Peasants' Government took the factories in hand, production not only no longer diminished, but on the contrary in many concerns it even increased. In increasing the productivity of labor the unions played a decisive part. Every time a union of production demanded an increase in wages it set out side by side with the exact indication of the wages, the daily output of the worker. For a defined wage the union exacted from the worker a defined quantity of manufactured products.

The desire of the capitalist governments throughout the world to suppress the Soviet Government, the intervention of the "Allies," the despatch of troops to Murmansk and the Caspian Sea area, all exacted from us the greatest efforts in order to repel the enemy. An army was wanted, and it was the workers alone that were in a position to create this army. The unions hastened to help in the building up of a strong force, and from the factories and workshops went men who were ready to bear arms which finally resulted in the capture of Kazan, Simbrosk and Samara.

Thus if the Trade Union movement as a whole, and the different labor organizations, had to fight against the capitalists for the satisfaction of their economic demands, before the October Revolution, and at the same time, fight against the Kerensky Government, which was supporting the capitalist class on all questions; after October they threw all their weight against the enemies of the new Workers' Republic.

Labor Unions of the Future

The future of the labor unions and the professional organizations will depend on the maintenance in power of the Government of Workers and Peasants. The fall of this Government would bring with it the defeat of the Trade Union movement. The months preceeding the Revolution have not been without profit to the Russian unions. The unions have widened the framework and scope of their struggle and now have only one task before them—that of strengthening and extending the new Soviet Republic, bringing to it all their experience, their practical knowledge and their revolutionary spirit.



(1) W. Shatoff, Late Member of the Military Revolutionary Committee.
(2) Workers' Demonstration at Dvinsk.

You Can't Afford to Live or Die

IT may seem strange to many, that owing to the fact that the entire forces of the world have been engaged in killing as many people as possible, the cost of living has risen to hitherto unheard-of heights. In the business world the rule seems to be to charge much for the things that people want and sell cheaply what nobody needs. Thus at Coney Island one can go into the sea without payment, and in New York City people pay money to be allowed to come in out of the rain. This is because at Coney Island a lot of people want to go into the sea, while in Iceland nobody cares about open air bathing, and in New York City getting wet in the open usually results in a bad cold.

According to this rule it would seem that when so many people are anxious to kill each other, the cost of living would go down to almost nothing; but this is not the case. It would seem logical that when the prices of those things necessary to sustain life are so high, one could die for almost nothing; but the undertakers have jumped their prices over a hundred per cent, giving as their reason that the cost of living has gone up.

The High Cost of Breakfasts

The Cost of Living is a peculiar thing. The price

each Saturday. What he really engaged to work for was a two room flat, a suit of clothes every two or three years, a new skirt for the missus every spring, three or four ounces of tobacco each week, coffee and rolls every morning, with a stale egg once in a while. Now on account of the cost of living he finds that although he is getting the same number of pieces of paper, he can't keep the two-roomed flat, the missus can't get her new skirt, the coffee is not so strong as it was, the stale egg never appears, tobacco is a thing of the past.

So he starts grumbling that he is not getting enough to live upon. Then he decides to ask for more wages to bring him up to the level he formerly lived at. But the boss says that on account of the cost of living he can't afford to pay more wages. Finally the working man strikes. He gets into trouble with the police, gets beaten up and hauled before a judge, who charges him ten dollars. After a few weeks he "wins" the strike by getting half what he asked for, and he returns to his normal life only to find that prices have gone up again *because wages have been raised*.

But the man who owned the bread did not have to strike to get more money for it at the start, and the



The Blockade

of bread goes up "on account of the war," and then the price of coffee goes up because the price of bread went up. As coffee and bread is not considered a good breakfast unless eggs are added, the price of eggs goes up also. And because breakfasts have become more expensive, the price of a street car ride goes up as well. Before all this going up began, nobody suspected that the man who owns the street car was in the least interested in what his passengers ate for breakfast. But now everybody knows that he is very interested.

As a result of all the going up, the working man finds that the wages he is getting are not the wages he engaged to work for. When he took the job he got fifteen dollars a week. But no working man works for the pleasure of receiving fifteen pieces of paper

man who owned the coffee did not have to strike either. But he had to strike, he only got half of what he wanted and he finds himself worse off than ever.

If he has been beaten often enough by the boss and is afraid that he will get beaten again, then he just grumbles and growls, and the newspapers pet him and everybody sympathizes with him but nobody does anything about it. But if he gets sore and starts something then everybody blames him and the newspapers call him a Bolshevik—but everybody gets very busy, even the President and Congress, and things are made a little easier. If he continues to stay sore and shows that he really means what he says, then he will be called a danger to society, but he will finally—well figure it out for yourselves.



The Blockade

Awakening of Labor in the East

By F. G. BIEDENKAPP,
Gen. Sec. B. of M. W.

FOR a long, long time the Eastern manufacturers as well as the conservative A. F. of L. labor fakirs have rested secure in their firm belief that no I. W. W. or O. B. U. movement could come to actual life in their midst and disturb their peace of mind, and up to within a very short time ago they were obviously right.

The tide, however, seems to be changing. The cocksureness of the old blind labor fakir is leaving him. He is up in arms against his pall-bearers—the rank and file. The manufacturers are clamoring for drastic action on the part of their old political hirelings. Money flows freely among the corrupt and foul politicians. The Lusk Committee of New York is sending out subpoenas as fast as the mail will carry them. Their using the mail as a process server proves that they do not deem it necessary to comply with the law. They demand that labor organizations turn over to them their membership lists—beautiful, isn't it? And why? Is it that the country is in danger of being captured by the Kaiser?

It is far more terrible. This time it is a creature more dangerous, more vile, and more blood-thirsty (if you doubt it, ask the Lusk Committee) than the German militarist ever dared to be. Now it is the Bolshevik, the I. W. W., the Communist, the damn foreigners; and what is worse, even the pure, dyed in the wool American born who was once a staunch A. F. of L.ite, that are all pointing their fingers at the handwriting on the wall, and shouting "O. B. U., "One Big Union."

You ask, "Why all this excitement?" You say that some of these fellows were *always* shouting that. That may be so, but now we are in the danger zone. Up to within a year ago the big army of Eastern workers paid little heed to that S. O. S. call, but today you can hear the echo from all sides answering, "O. B. U." It is becoming a by-word of the rank and file, even with such old-time stand-patters as in the building and printing trades you hear the resound "O. B. U."

The Growth of the O. B. U.

This is what makes them shiver. Those who have with all their might and main endeavored to hold down the curtain are losing their hold, and as the curtain slowly rises we see the carpenters, formerly A. F. of L. now forming their industrial union. We see the bricklayers, cursing their A. F. of L. leaders who are trying to tie them down for eight dollars a day, while they are demanding, and actually getting, ten dollars per day. We see the textile workers closing their ranks on the industrial basis, the powerful Amalgamated Clothing Workers are becoming ever stronger industrially. The railway workers are clamoring for industrial unionism, and the machinists, iron workers, jewelry workers, chandelier workers, tin smiths, auto and aircraft workers, and metal workers in general actually forming an industrial council with the aim of establishing the O. B. U. within the metal industry. The following is a call issued by delegates of the

various labor organizations independent of the A. F. of L., as well as some of the progressive minds from within the A. F. of L., all of whom are determined to bring about the One Big Union, through, and by which medium they eventually expect to capture the industries, to have them owned and controlled by those who work within the industries, for the coming good of all the workers:

Tentative Plan

for the amalgamation of all metal, machinery, engineering and other organizations connected with the machine and metal industry. To be known as "The council for amalgamation."

Aim and Principle

The eventual bringing about of One Big Industrial Union for the purpose of establishing a Society of the Commonwealth under which the workers shall receive their just share of production.

Method of Amalgamation and Co-operation

1. An Amalgamated Council shall be formed, composed of a paid General Secretary and Treasurer, whose salary shall not exceed \$50 per week and expenses of \$1 per day unless engaged out of town, and two representatives of each organization deciding to affiliate, who shall receive no pay but whose expenses shall be paid for by their respective organizations. The Secretary and Treasurer shall have a voice but not vote, and shall be elected from the ranks of any affiliated organization or taken from the midst of the Council itself. The Council is to meet at least once in every two weeks, except the Secretary and Treasurer, who shall have daily office hours with headquarters at such a place where found convenient.
2. Any labor organization in the Machine and Metal Industry not controlled by, or in any way, shape, or form connected with any bosses or bosses' association or any other organization existing for any other reason than the welfare of the working class in general, shall be eligible to membership in the Council.
3. The Council is to supervise the drafting and distribution of such literature as will carry the message of the One Big Union to all those employed in the Metal Industry.
4. The Council is to act as a clearing house for its affiliated organizations, so as to facilitate organization work on an economic and effective basis and to assure a general interchange of views and information concerning the trade in general, with a view that the Council may gradually become the connecting link between all shop committees formed in the respective shops, and in this manner establish efficient co-operation.
5. The Secretary and Treasurer of the Council is to attend lodge meetings of the affiliated organizations, so as to advocate in an educational manner, direct among the members, for the One Big Union, and he is to procure other speakers to do likewise.
6. The Council is to supervise such strikes where members of different unions are employed, designating, however, as supervisors such representatives of the Council as represent within the Council such organizations involved in the strike.
7. The Council is to work for and establish in the various work shops a Shop Steward system which shall meet the approval of the membership of all affiliated organizations. Such shop stewards shall be under direct control of the Council.

8. All organizations affiliated with the Council are within a certain period of time to establish a uniform initiation fee and a uniform scale of dues. They shall also establish a uniform reinstatement fee, leaving it, however, to the individual locals to place a special fine for reinstatement upon any individual where in their judgment such action is warranted, and no affiliated organization is to accept such a reinstatement unless such fine shall have been paid. The fine in each case is to go to the treasury of the local from whence the delinquent came.

9. The membership card of one organization in any shop shall be recognized by all other organizations affiliated with the Council.

10. Transfers of members from one organization to another shall not be permissible unless approved of by both organizations affected by the transfer.

11. There shall be no interference by the Council into the inner working of any affiliated organization to maintain such official staff as it deems advisable. The Council may, however, refuse to accept and seat as delegate any

representative of any organization who is personally proved to be out of sympathy with the One Big Industrial Union plan and principle.

12. Finally, within one year from date of the formation of this Council, at such time as may be decided upon by the Council, a referendum vote shall be sent out to all members of affiliated organizations on the question of abolition of individual organizations and the establishment of one organization to be known as the Industrial Union of Machine and Metal Workers, of the O. B. U.

Revenue

1. Each affiliated organization shall pay a per capita of 2 cents per month into the treasury of the Council. Such per capita shall be based and levied upon the actual membership of the affiliated organization.

2. Voluntary contributions from individual members, locals, or organizations shall be called for.

The Soldiers Council of Toledo

THE American Legion is a respectable organization founded for the purpose of protecting the rights of the returned soldiers, also, membership carries with it a number of duties such as—"to maintain law and order; to foster and perpetuate a one hundred per cent. Americanism; to inculcate a sense of individual obligations to the community, state and nation; to make right the master of might; to promote peace and good will on earth; to safeguard and transmit to posterity the principles of justice, freedom and democracy." By this you will see that the members have quite a lot of duties, and judging from what we have seen, we gather that although they have quite a lot of work on hand, they take to it like ducks take to water. Unfortunately, all the above terms are merely relative,—by that we mean, that law and order in the South Sea Isles is called Cannibalism in America; One Hundred per cent. Americanism of a Chicago packer is known as profiteering on the East Side of New York; but this is being gradually remedied by the American Legion. Recognizing that these terms can be interpreted in different ways by different people, they made it their business to standardize them, for example,—to inculcate a sense of individual obligations to the community, etc., means if you don't obligate according to American Legion rules, you will be inculcated with a crow-bar.

The Soldier's and Sailor's Council of Toledo believed that everybody should be inculcated with a sense of individual obligations especially the 100 per cent. type that had shaken their members by the hand two years ago and told them that their job would be awaiting them on their return, but in the first place, the Soldier's and Sailor's Council is not a respectable organization. They have no Roosevelts on their list of founders. They have no ex-Senator's sons or commissioned officers on their governing body. Instead, it is just a bunch of doughboys who know how to govern themselves.

Immediately after the armistice had been signed, the streets of Toledo, as in other cities, began to fill with returned soldiers looking for work. Some of them were without money and were compelled to

beg in order to obtain food and shelter. Most of them had been refused aid by the various "patriotic" organizations. Factories were closing down, and strikes were numerous, so in order to prevent these boys from becoming scabs, a few of the more fortunate ones pooled their savings and opened up headquarters for the purpose of at least providing a shelter for any "buddy" that passed through the city. One fellow, who had lost a leg in the fight for democracy, gave the whole of his savings, \$200, to this fund. This initial money was soon expended and street speaking was resorted to in an endeavor to raise more. These meetings brought in large collections, all of which went to purchase food and clothing, but even this was not enough. A weekly paper was started in order to increase the revenue, but by this time, the Soldier's and Sailor's Council had developed and was being felt in its opposition to the employers, who were offering jobs to all returned soldiers as "scabs." The mayor of the city organized what was known as the "soldier police" which resulted in the killing of one of their "buddy's" and a spectator. At the funeral of these victims, a silent parade was formed extending fifteen blocks. When the next issue of their paper, **The New Voice**, appeared, the editors and officials were arrested and jailed for condemning the action of the mayor. Schwartzenfeld, the editor, is now serving eighteen months in the Canton work-house. When last seen, his cheeks and lips were swollen, his eyes sunken, his teeth falling out and he was on bread and water diet.

By this means of persecution, the Mayor and Commercial Club hope to destroy the Soldier's and Sailors' Council, but instead of wiping it out, just the reverse has happened, and today this organization is developing into a powerful factor. Left to itself, it may have died a natural death when normal times had returned or become some sort of charitable institution, but the capitalists of Toledo were too busy attempting to break the Willy's Overland strike and in doing this they have created a revolutionary movement which is now preparing to function on the industrial field.

The Montana Strike

By One Who Was There

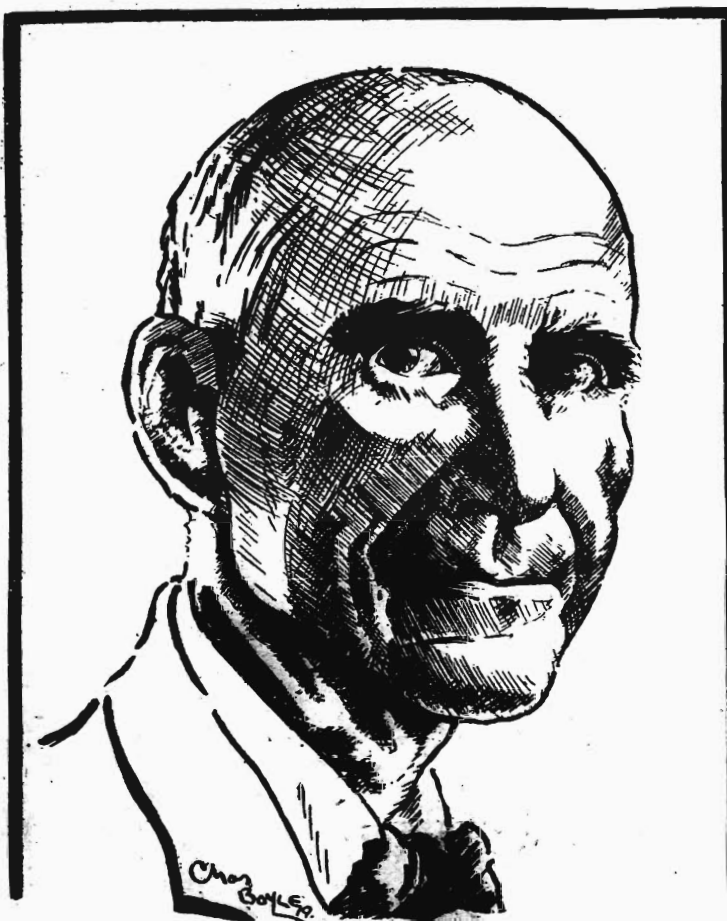
WITH the usual cockiness of the American hosiery mechanic the metal trades of the cities of Butte, Great Falls and Anaconda went on strike in the fore part of August, Machinists, Blacksmiths, Boilermakers, Electricians and Pipe Fitters. The next move was that the Metal Miners of the One Big Union came out as per constitutional clauses 37 and 38 which do not allow its members to work on struck jobs. The Metal Miners of the I. W. W. then passed a resolution that they would come off the job when the rest of the A. F. L. crafts were called off, these crafts are the carpenters, ropemen and engineers. The Metal Tradesmen then passed a resolution asking the miners of both the One Big Union and the I. W. W. to stay on the job until further notice, most of the One Big Union miners left the camp and went firefighting for the time, not wanting to use unfair tools and machines. The Central Trades Council then declared the mines and mills unfair and through this, action was taken, the carpenters, ropemen and engineers failed to come off. The I. W. W. miners then asked the metal tradesmen to incorporate the miners' demands in the demands of the metal tradesmen and if this was done the I. W. W. would come off the job.

The A. F. L. does not permit their members to line up with an outlaw organization, so this action could not be taken, and from this time on the Metal Tradesmen were on strike alone, except the One Big Union miners, who were out of camp, and a few remained in town, but refused to return to the struck job. In the meantime the Anaconda Mining Company stools, led by the American Copper Mine "Labor Commissioner" Shope, who by the way, is an old time Butte member of the defunct

Western Federation of Miners and one who held office in that local here in the past and, of course, was acting for the American Copper Mine, while Secretary of the local miners' union, this creature is now called Labor Commissioner by the American Copper Mine, and you can guess what he is called by the class conscious worker, but he is hand in glove with some of these metal tradesmen here, and of course, the men on strike began to "mill" like a bunch of sheep taking referendum votes every

few days as to whether they would return to work or not. Four of the referendum votes were taken and finally when it was conceded by nearly everyone that the strike was won, the metal tradesmen voted to return to work. It was optional with them as to whether they had a contract or not and they took a ten months contract to be good slaves. Now some of them are told that there is no work for them and those who are back on the job are treated as is the custom to treat men who are licked in a strike, they have to put up with worse conditions than ever.

During the strike the meetings were held daily in the Metal Mine Workers' Union hall (One Big Union), and the strikers had an opportunity to look over the new plan



EUGENE V. DEBS

One of 2,000 Class War Prisoners

of organization outlined in the One Big Union conference held here in July, needless to say these men are nearly all in favor of this new plan and a number have already lined up and a great many more will be in the near future, for they now see that there is but little hope for the A. F. L. to win a craft strike or a group of crafts to win, it must be a complete tie up under the One Big Union plan, or the Anaconda Mining Company will lick them every time, the same as they have done before.

Hands Off Russia

Copies of this article in leaflet form, for free distribution may be obtained gratis from the office of the Communist Labor Party. Temporary address, 1664 Madison Ave., New York City.

THE imperialists of the world are continuing their infamous intervention in Soviet Russia. The counter-revolutionary Czarist generals, backed up by allied troops, allied ammunition, continue shedding the blood of the Russian workers and devastating the territory of the proletarian Republic. Moreover, the Allies are tightening the iron ring of the blockade around Soviet Russia, thus dooming millions of women and children to unheard of misery, starvation and disease.

All this is being done because the workers and peasants of Russia have cast off the yoke of exploitation and oppression and have devoted themselves to the task of reconstructing their life on such foundations as will eliminate all oppression of the poor by the rich—exploitation of the toilers by the capitalists. This is why the capitalist countries where all the power is concentrated in the hands of the big commercial and financial interests, are waging this predatory war against Soviet Russia. Defending their class in Russia they are thereby protecting their own interests, for they know that the example set by the Russian workers will inevitably be followed by the workers of their own countries. Hence, America's participation in this war against Russia!

American troops are still on Russian territory, and American ammunition is still being used for the purpose of strangling the only proletarian republic in the world.

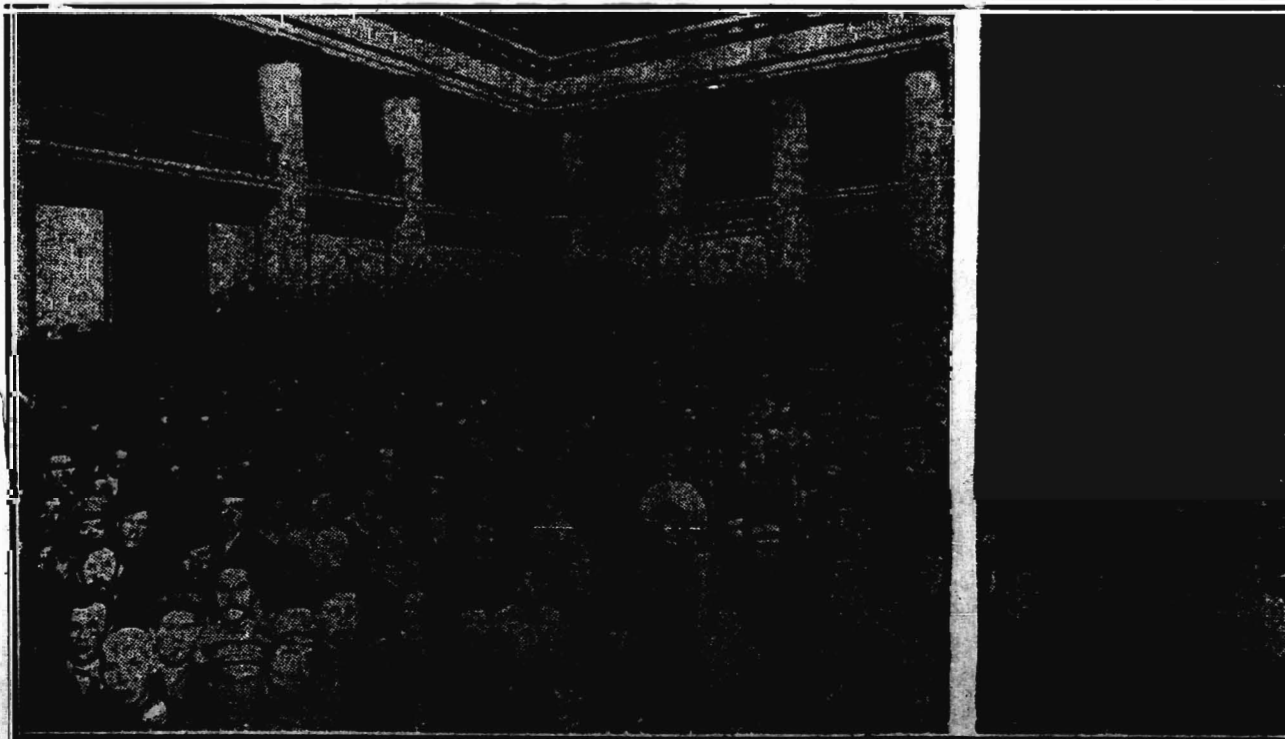
America's armed intervention in Russia is frequent-

ly referred to as President Wilson's private war. This is correct, only insofar as the formalities required for the waging of this war have not been complied with. It is being carried on with the consent of Congress. Yet, as a matter of fact, it is not altogether President Wilson's private war. It is rather the class war of the American plutocracy, the class war of the international money bags. American capital is vitally interested in crushing Soviet Russia and it does not stop at mere technicalities, even if it means the violation of laws of its own creation. In waging this war, President Wilson plays the part of the faithful servant of the American Plutocracy. American workers, you must realize this and bear it firmly in mind.

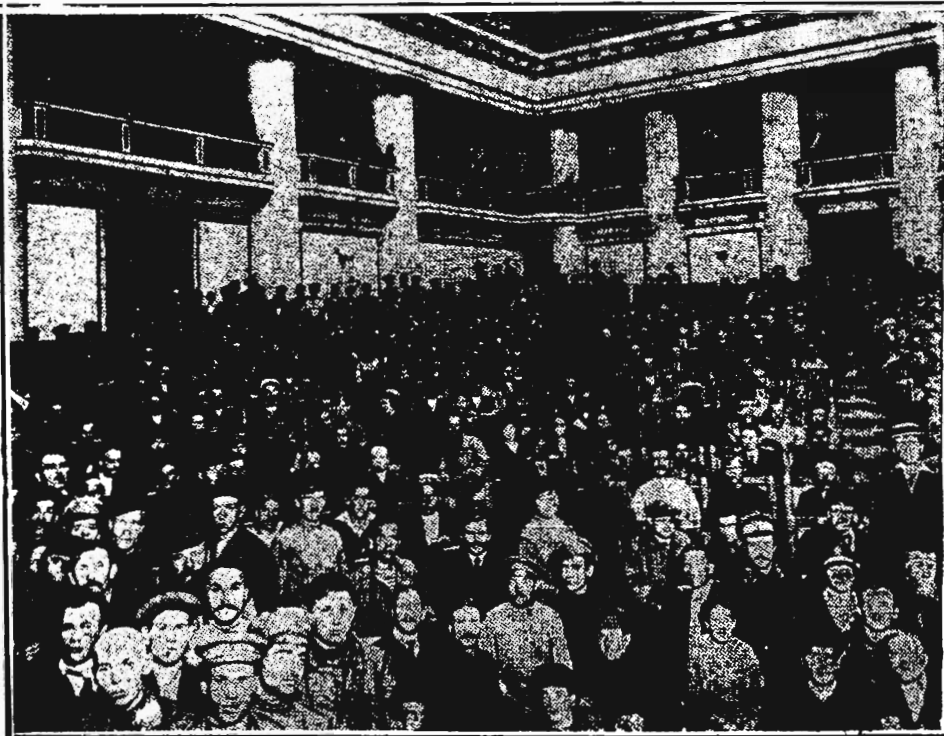
You must know that every American soldier, sailing for Russia, goes there to shed the blood of the Russian workers and peasants who are now engaged in a desperate struggle against the capitalists of the world—those brigands of the international highways.

You must bear in mind that every rifle, every cannon, every machine gun which is being sent from the United States to Russia means death for the many Russian workers and peasants who are sacrificing themselves in order that the workers the world over may be liberated from the yoke of international capital.

Workers of America! It is not sufficient to know and to bear all this in mind—you must act accordingly. Your slogan must be: **Not a soldier for the**



Meeting of the Russian Soviet of the North



Meeting of the Russian Soviet of the North

November 1, 1919

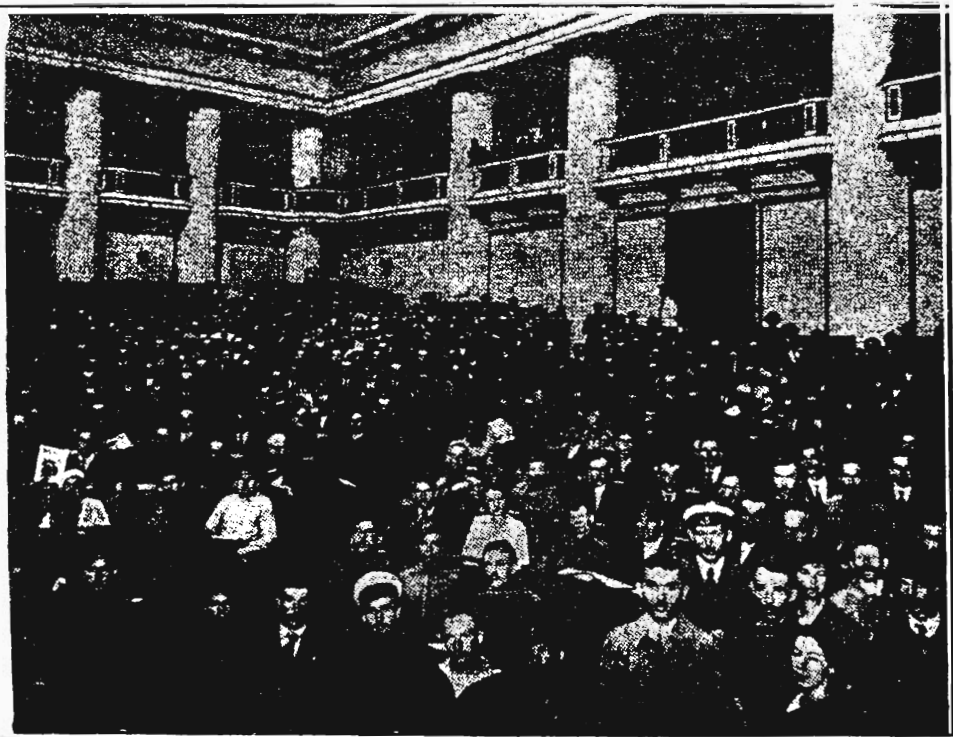
THE VOICE OF LABOR

war against Soviet Russia, not a cent, not a rifle to help wage this war.

This slogan has already been adopted by the British, French and Italian workers. In Great Britain, in France and in Italy the workers are refusing to load ships with ammunition and provisions destined for the foes of Soviet Russia.

The soldiers are refusing to go to the fronts! The American workers must follow example! To every invitation to play the Cain toward their Russian brothers, to the request of the American government to enlist in service in Russia, or to load ships for the stained Russian White Army, there must be answer: "HANDS OFF RUSSIA."





What the Peace Conference Did to Russia

The Bullitt Report

most important part of the testimony presented to the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. William C. Bullitt has been suppressed in the official papers. True, Mr. Bullitt's relations in Soviet Russia was made public in a certain form, but the report included also an account of how the Peace Conference treated Russia—including minutes of the sessions of the Council of Ten.

It is herewith extracts of the testimony which clearly what took place, and show the time the Peace Conference knew exactly what was going on in Russia.

It is known that the Soviet Government made several propositions of peace to the Peace Council, notably that made by Litvinoff to Mr. Buckler, representative of the British Government, which led to Lloyd George's proposing to the Council of Ten that all the Russian factions be invited to come to Paris, "somewhat in the way that the Roman Empire summoned chiefs of outlying states to render an account of their actions," as Lloyd George expressed it.

Lloyd George's Suggestions

At the meeting of the Council of Ten on January 16th, Lloyd George stated that "the hope that the Bolshevik Government would collapse has not been realized."

According to him, there were three possible policies to adopt:

1. **Military Intervention.** It is true the Bolshevik movement is as dangerous to civilization as German militarism, but as to putting it down by the sword, is there anyone who proposes it? It would mean holding a certain number of vast provinces in Russia. The Germans, with only one million men on their eastern front, only held the fringe of this territory. If he now proposed to send a thousand British troops to Russia for that purpose, the armies would mutiny. The same applies to U. S. troops in Siberia; also to Canadians and French as well. The mere idea of crushing Bolshevism by a military force is pure madness. Even admitting that it is done, who is to occupy Russia?

2. **A cordon.** The second suggestion is to besiege Bolshevik Russia. Mr. Lloyd George wondered if those present realized what this would mean. From the information furnished him Bolshevik Russia has no corn, but within its territory there are 150,000,000 men, women, and children. There is now starvation in Petrograd and Moscow. This is not a health cordon, it is a death cordon. Moreover, as a matter of fact, the people who would die are just the people that the Allies desire to protect. It would not result in the starvation of the Bolsheviks; it would simply mean the death of our friends. The cordon policy is a policy which, as humane people, those present could not consider.

Mr. Lloyd George asked who was there to overthrow the Bolsheviks? He has been told there were three men, Denikin, Kolchak, and Knox. In considering the chances of these people to overthrow the Bolsheviks, he pointed out that he had received information that the Czechoslovaks now refused to fight; that the Russian Army was not to be trusted, and that, while it was true that a Bolshevik army had recently gone over to Kolchak, it was never certain that just the reverse of this would not take place. If the Allies counted on any of these men, he believed they were building on quick-sand. He had heard a lot of talk about Denikin, but when he looked on the map he found that Denikin was occupying a little back-

yard near the Black Sea. Then he had been told that Denikin had recognized Kolchak. Moreover, from information received it would appear that Kolchak had been collecting members of the old regime around him, and would seem to be at heart a monarchist. It appeared that the Czechoslovaks were finding this out. The sympathies of the Czechoslovaks are very democratic, and they are not at all prepared to fight for . . . the restoration of the old conditions in Russia.

3. The third alternative was contained in the British proposal; which was, to summon these people to Paris to appear before those present.

Wilson Takes a Hand

Then our President took a hand, showing that he understood why "Bolshevism" was making such strides, and also that he doubted the intentions of the Russian anti-Bolshevik forces.

Mr. Lloyd George referred to the objection that had been raised to permitting Bolshevik delegates to come to Paris. It had been claimed that they would convert France and England to Bolshevism. If England becomes Bolshevik, it will not be because a single Bolshevik representative is permitted to enter England. On the other hand, if a military enterprise were started against the Bolsheviks, that would make England Bolshevik, and there would be a Soviet in London.

President Wilson stated that he did not see how it was possible to controvert the statement of Mr. Lloyd George. . . . He did not believe that there would be sympathy anywhere with the brutal aspect of Bolshevism, if it were not for the fact of the domination of large vested interests in the political and economic world. While it might be true that this evil was in process of discussion and slow reform, it must be admitted that the general body of men have grown impatient at the failure to bring about the necessary reform. . . . On the one hand, there is a minority possessing capital and brains; on the other, a majority consisting of the great bodies of workers who are essential to the minority, but do not trust the minority, and feel that the minority will never render them their rights.

President Wilson pointed out that the whole world was disturbed by this question before the Bolsheviks came into power. Seeds need soil and the Bolshevik seeds found the soil already prepared for them.

President Wilson stated that he would not be surprised to find that the reason why British and United States troops would not be ready to enter Russia to fight the Bolsheviks, was explained by the fact that the troops were not at all sure that if they put down Bolshevism they would not bring about a re-establishment of the ancient order.

President Wilson further stated that he understood that the danger of destruction of all hope in the Baltic provinces was immediate, and that it should be made very clear if the British proposal were adopted, that the Bolsheviks would have to withdraw entirely from Lithuania and Poland.

The Prinkipo Fiasco

On January 21st there was a special secret meeting of the Council of Ten to decide on a policy concerning Russia. It was this meeting which empowered President Wilson to issue the invitation to Prinkipo.

From the official minutes of the meeting:

President Wilson said that . . . he wished . . . to propose a modification of the British proposal. He wished to suggest that the various organized groups in Russia should be asked to send representatives, not to Paris, but to some other place, such as Salonika.

Mr. Lloyd George pointed out that the advantage of this would be that they could be brought straight there

from Russia through the Black Sea without passing through other countries.

M. Sonnino said that some of the representatives of the various Governments were already here in Paris, for example, M. Sazonov. Why should these not be heard?

President Wilson expressed the view that the various parties should not be heard separately. It would be very desirable to get all these representatives in one place, and still better, all in one room, in order to obtain a close comparison of views.

Mr. Balfour said that a further objection to Mr. Sonnino's plan was that if M. Sazonov was heard in Paris, it would be difficult to refuse to hear the others in Paris also, and M. Clemenceau objected strongly to having some of these representatives in Paris.

M. Sonnino explained that all the Russian parties had some representatives here, except the Soviets, whom they did not wish to hear.

Mr. Lloyd George remarked that the Bolsheviks were the very people some of them wished to hear.

Mr. Sonnino, continuing, said . . . the Allies were fighting against the Bolsheviks, who were their enemies, and therefore were not obliged to hear them with the others.

President Wilson asked to be permitted to urge one aspect of the case. As M. Sonnino had implied, they were all repelled by Bolshevism, and for that reason they had placed armed men in opposition to them. One of the things that was clear in the Russian situation was that by opposing Bolshevism with arms, they were in reality serving the cause of Bolshevism. The Allies were making it possible for the Bolsheviks to argue that Imperialistic and Capitalistic Governments were endeavoring to exploit the country and to give the land back to the landlords, and so bring about a reaction. If . . . the Allies could swallow their pride and the natural repulsion which they felt for the Bolsheviks, and see the representatives of all organized groups in one place, he thought it would bring about a marked reaction against Bolshevism.

Clemenceau Has Hysterics

M. Clemenceau said that, in principle, he did not favor conversation with the Bolsheviks; not because they were criminals, but because we would be raising them to our level by saying that they were worthy of entering into conversation with us. The Bolshevik danger was very great at the present moment. Bolshevism was spreading. It had invaded the Baltic provinces and Poland, and that very morning they received very bad news regarding its spread to Budapest and Vienna. Italy, also, was in danger. The danger was probably greater than in France. If Bolshevism after spreading in Germany, were to traverse Austria and Hungary and so reach Italy, Europe would be faced with a very great danger. Therefore, something must be done against Bolshevism.

The great misfortune was that the Allies were in need of a speedy solution. After four years of war, and the losses and sufferings they had incurred, their populations could stand no more. The signing of the world peace could not await Russia's final avatar. Had time been available, he would suggest waiting, for eventually sound men representing common-sense would come to the top. But when would that be? He could make no forecast. Therefore they must press for an early solution.

Mr. Balfour said that he understood that all these people were to be asked on an equality. On these terms he thought the Bolsheviks would refuse, and by their refusal, they would put themselves in a very bad position.

Mr. Sonnino said that his idea was to collect all the anti-Bolshevik parties and help them to make a strong Government, provided they pledged themselves not to serve the forces of reaction. . . . Should they take these pledges, he would be prepared to help them.

Mr. Lloyd George inquired how this help would be given.

Mr. Sonnino replied that help would be given with soldiers to a reasonable degree, or by supplying arms, food, and money. . . . All the Allies wanted was to establish a strong Government. The reason that no strong Government at present existed was that no party could risk making the offensive against Bolshevism without the as-

sistance of the Allies. . . . He w for Italy and probably for France als had stated, it was in reality a ques He thought that even partial recogn vists would strengthen their positio himself, he thought that Bolshevism danger in his country.

Allied Soldiers Show

Mr. Lloyd George said he wished practical questions to M. Sonnino. now had some 15,000 to 20,000 men Scavenius had estimated that some 15 would be required, in order to keep Governments from dissolution. And d'Esperey also insisted on the necessity. Now Canada had decided to w because the Canadian soldiers would and fight against the Russians. Simi occurred amongst the other Allied t certain that, if the British tried to se there would be mutiny.

M. Sonnino suggested that volunt for.

Mr. Lloyd George, continuing, sa impossible to raise 150,000 men in th however, what contributions America would make towards the raising of t

President Wilson and M. Clemence M. Orlando agreed that Italy cou contributions.

Mr. Lloyd George said that the army of 300,000 men who would, bef soldiers, and to fight them at least 40 diers would be required. Who would pay them? Would Italy, or America, If they were unable to do that, what would of fighting Bolshevism? It could not be speeches. He sincerely trusted that they w President Wilson's proposal as it now stood.

M. Orlando agreed that the question was ficult one for the reasons that had been fully agreed that Bolshevism constituted a grave d Europe. To prevent a contagious epidemic f ing, the sanitarians sent up a "cordon Sanitaire lar measures could be taken against Bolshevis to prevent its spreading, it might be overcom isolate it meant vanquishing it. Italy was n through a period of depression, due to war But Bolsheviks could never triumph there, found a favorable medium, such as might b either by profound patriotic disappointment i pectations as to the rewards of the war, or nomic crisis. Either might lead to revolutions, equivalent to Bolshevism. Therefore, he would all possible measures should be taken to set up t Next, he suggested the consideration of repr sures. He thought two methods were possible use of physical force or the use of moral thought Mr. Lloyd George's objection to the us cal force unanswerable. The occupation of Ru the employment of large numbers of troops for nite period of time. This meant an apparent pt of the war. There remained the use of moral agreed with M. Clemenceau that no country- tinue in anarchy and that an end must eventu but they could not wait; they could not proce peace and ignore Russia. Therefore, Mr. Lloy proposal, with the modifications introduced at consideration by President Wilson and M. C gave a possible solution. It did not involve en negotiations with the Bolsheviks; the proposal an attempt to bring together all the parties with a view to finding a way out of the preser He was prepared, therefore, to support it.

Japanese Capitalism Talks

President Wilson asked for the views of h colleagues.

Baron Makino said that after carefully con various points of view put forward, he had a

the conclusion reached. He thought solution under the circumstances. He inquired what attitude would be taken by the Allied Powers if the Bolshevik invitation to the meeting and there principles? He thought they should not countenance Bolshevik ideas. Siberia east of the Baikal had greatly suffered which had necessitated the dispatch of that region had been attained. Bolger aggressive, though it might still harm. In conclusion, he wished to support the meeting.

expressed the view that the emissaries should not be authorized to adopt the terms towards Bolshevism. They should be left to their Governments the conditions

He asked that the question be further brought to the emissaries of the Allied Powers to establish an agreement if they were possible. For instance, if they succeeded in coming to an agreement on the subject of the organization of the Assembly, they should be authorized to make a promise without the delay of a referendum.

He suggested that the emissaries might be given a body of instructions.

He expressed the view that abstention from the part of their neighbors should be made a condition for sending representatives to this meeting. He agreed.

Bluff

He suggested that the manifesto to the Allies should be based solely on humanitarian grounds. He should say to the Russians: "You are suffering from famine. We are prompted by humanitarian considerations to see what can be done to remove the menace to you." He thought the Russians would at once listen to his ears, and be prepared to hear what he had to say. They would add that food cannot be brought to peace and order were re-established. It should be made quite clear that the representatives of all the Allies should be brought together for purely humane

Lloyd George said that in this connection he wished to draw attention to a doubt expressed by certain of the British Dominions, namely, whether there would be enough food and credit to go round should it be made to feed all Allied countries, and the Allies, and Russia also. The export of so much food would inevitably have the effect of raising food prices in all Allied countries and so create discontent and Bolshevism. As regards grain, Russia had always been an export country, and there was evidence to show that food at present existed in the Ukraine.

Wilson said that his information was that food did not exist in Russia, but, either on account of hoarding or on account of difficulties of transport it could not be made available.

The minutes of January 21, and the Prinkipos memorandum was written on January 22.

Instructions to the President were as follows: He agreed that President Wilson should draft a memorandum for consideration at the next meeting, in which he would invite organized parties in Russia to attend a meeting at some selected place, such as Salonika or Constantinople, in order to discuss with the representatives of the Allied and Associated Great Powers the means of restoring order and peace in Russia. Participation in the meeting would be conditional on a cessation of hostilities. The President then wrote the Prinkipos proposition.

The Bluff Is Exposed

Senator Knox: Did you make a written report of your

visit: I did, sir.

Senator Knox: Have you it here?

Senator Bullitt: Yes, sir. I might read the report without delay.

Senator Knox: The Chairman wants you to read it.

The Chairman: I do not know whether it is very long. The report he made would be of some interest. You were the only official representative sent?

Mr. Bullitt: Yes, sir; except Capt. Pettit, my assistant. The circumstances of my sending will perhaps require further elucidation. I not only was acquainted with the minutes of the discussions of the Council of Ten, but in addition I had discussed the subject with each of the commissioners each morning, and I had talked with many British representatives. After the Prinkipos proposal was made, the replies began to come in from various factions, that they would refuse to accept it for various reasons. The Soviet Government replied in a slightly evasive form. They said, "We are ready to accept the terms of the proposals, and we are ready to talk about stopping fighting." They did not say, "We are ready to stop fighting on such and such a date." It was not made specific.

Senator Knox: That was one of the conditions of the proposal.

Mr. Bullitt: It was. That is why I say they replied in an evasive manner. The French—and particularly the French Foreign Office, even more than Mr. Clemenceau—and you can observe from that minute were opposed to the idea, and we found that the French Foreign Office had communicated to the Ukrainian Government and various other anti-Soviet governments that if they were to refuse the proposal, they would support them and continue to support them, and not allow the Allies, if they could prevent it, or the Allied Governments, to make peace with the Russian Soviet Government.

At all events, the time set for the Prinkipos proposal was February 15. At that time nobody had acted in a definite, uncompromising matter. It therefore fell to the ground.

Clemenceau "The Boss"

I further, before I went, asked Col. House certain specific questions in regard to what, exactly, the point of view of our Government was on this subject, what we were ready to do, and I think it perhaps might be important to detail a brief resume of this conversation. The idea was this: Lloyd George had gone over to London on February 9, as I remember, to try to adjust some labor troubles. He, however, still insisted that the Prinkipos proposal must be renewed or some other peace proposal must be made, and I arranged a meeting between him and Col. House, which was to take place, I believe, on February 24, at which time they were to prepare a renewal of the Prinkipos proposal, and they were both prepared to insist that it be passed against any opposition of the French.

I arranged this meeting through Mr. Philip Kerr, Mr. Lloyd George's confidential assistant. However, on the 10th day of the month, Mr. Clemenceau was shot, and the next day Mr. Lloyd George telephoned over from London to say that as long as Clemenceau was wounded and was ill, he was boss of the room, and that anything he desired to veto would be immediately wiped out and therefore it was no use for him and Col. House as long as Clemenceau was ill, to attempt to renew the Prinkipos proposal, as Clemenceau would simply have to hold up a finger and the whole thing would drop to the ground. Therefore, it was decided that I should go at once to Russia to attempt to obtain from the Soviet Government an exact statement of the terms on which they were ready to stop fighting. I was ordered, if possible, to obtain that statement and have it back in Paris before the President returned to Paris from the United States. The plan was to make a proposal to the Soviet Government which would certainly be accepted.

Bullitt Exhibit No. 15

1. If the Bolsheviks are ready to stop the forward movement of their troops on all fronts and to declare an armistice on all fronts, would we be willing to do likewise?
2. Is the American Government prepared to insist that the French, British, Italian, and Japanese Governments shall accept such an armistice proposal?
3. If fighting is stopped on all fronts, is the Government of the United States prepared to insist on the re-establishment of economic relations with Russia, subject only to the equitable

distribution among all classes of the population of supplies and food and essential commodities which may be sent to Russia?

Bullitt Exhibit No. 16
(Private and confidential)

British Delegation,

Paris, February 27, 1919.

My Dear Bullitt: I enclose a note of the sort of conditions upon which I personally think it would be possible for the Allied Governments to resume once more normal relations with Soviet Russia. You will understand, of course, that these have no official significance and merely represent suggestions of my own opinion.

Yours sincerely,

P. H. KERR.

That was from Mr. Kerr, Lloyd George's confidential secretary. Mr. Kerr had, however, told me that he had discussed the entire matter with Mr. Lloyd George and Mr. Balfour, and therefore I thought he had a fair idea of what conditions the British were ready to accept. The note enclosed reads as follows:

1. Hostilities to cease on all fronts.
2. All de facto governments to remain in full control

of the territories which they at present occupy.

3. Railways and ports necessary to transportation between Soviet Russia and the sea to be subject to the same regulations as international railways and ports in the rest of Europe.

4. Allied subjects to be given free right of entry and full security to enable them to enter Soviet Russia and go about their business there, provided they do not interfere in politics.

5. Amnesty to all political prisoners on both sides; full liberty to all Russians who have fought with the Allies.

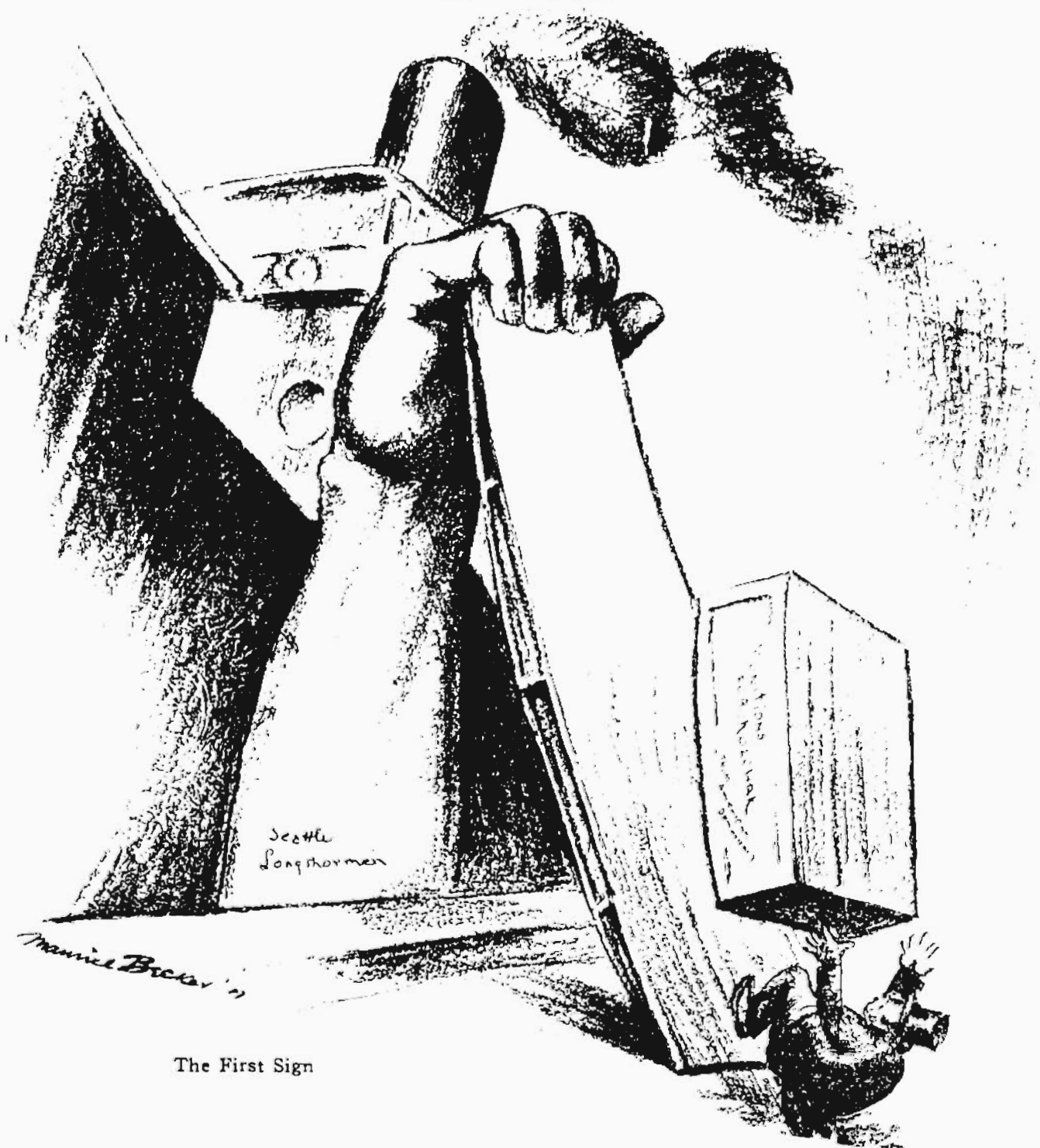
6. Trade relations to be restored between Soviet Russia and the outside world under conditions which, while respecting the sovereignty of Soviet Russia, insure that Allied supplies are made available on equal terms to all classes of the Russian people.

7. All other questions connected with Russia's debt to the Allies, etc., to be considered independently after peace has been established.

8. All Allied troops to be withdrawn from Russia as soon as Russian armies above quota to be defined have been demobilized and their surplus arms surrendered or destroyed.



The First Sign



The First Sign

The New Negro Organizations

By R. T. Sims

ORGANIZATIONS are formed by the human race in the present stage of development for the purpose of either advancing or retarding society, hence it is well that every individual should turn the searchlight of reason upon all forms of organizations in order to ascertain whether this or that form is more conducive to the welfare of society as a whole.

It was my good fortune to be called upon to attend a convention held in Washington, D. C., from September 8th to the 13th, known and chartered as "The National Brotherhood Workers of America." I give below the preamble of the Constitution drawn up at that time. The preamble says:

"It is becoming more apparent every day that the present form of society no longer fills the need of mankind, based as it is on private ownership of the means of production, distribution and private control in the management of all industries, which entails unbearable hardships for the great mass of the people, making their lives one continuous round of slavery carrying with it unemployment, suffering, privation and worry for the future, with no hope for the workers or their offspring to attain a status of freedom and economic security. The workers are the producers of all wealth and therefore should be the masters of their own destiny and of the whole world."

"The present controllers of wealth production, 'the capitalist class,' are unquestionably proving themselves incompetent to supply mankind adequately, while the bare necessities of life are getting more and more beyond our reach."

Your Interests Are Identical

We, in the above organization, have resolved to bring the true light of economic unionism to the attention of our colored brothers as we recognize that all workers, whether white or black, have one common interest, and that is freedom from wage slavery, and as such is the case, it is the duty for all workers to combine in one organization so as to surround themselves with security.

The history of the labor movement in America proves that the employing class recognizes neither racial or color distinctions. They exploit a white man to the same extent as a negro wherever possible. They exploit women just as readily, and even go so far as to coin the labor, blood and suffering of children into dollars. The introduction of women and children into factories proves conclusively that the employing class are not concerned with the welfare of humanity, but only with the accumulation of profits and they will exploit any race or group, whether they be white or black men, white or black women, white or black children.

It is apparent to the bosses that any non-union man is a potential scab, especially the negro, who has for so long been refused admittance into the ranks of organized labor, and, as self-interest is the principle upon which individuals mostly act, it is useless to expect the negro worker to refuse a scabing job when an opportunity to temporarily better his standard of living presents itself.

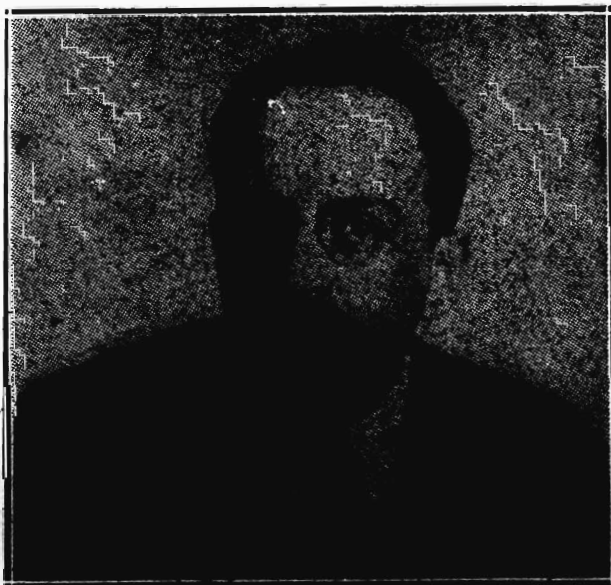
Under this present competitive system, the individ-

ual is always seeking to improve his condition, and when colored workers act as scabs, they, the negro workers, have improved their condition as they see it, due to the fact that, being unorganized, they are unable to command a decent living wage in normal times. The bosses realize this fact and use it to the full extent.

If organized labor seeks to combat their employers successfully, they cannot afford to ignore any factor of production that capitalism does not ignore, so therefore every individual who is part of the industrial machinery must be organized into One Big Union.

If the employer can keep the black and white "dogs" fighting over the bone of prejudice, the yellow capitalist dog can get away with the meat, profits. This fact is demonstrated through the capitalist newspapers. At present they are endeavoring to fan the flames of race prejudice by circulating lies about the organization of negroes in the State of Arkansas. The negroes of the South are organizing the cotton pickers which not only means the betterment of conditions for those immediately concerned, but this will also safeguard the interests of the white worker in the North. The bosses know that should the negro become organized in the South, it will destroy all the cheap scab labor which is usually imported into the industrial centres of the North during labor troubles, and in order to offset this, the capitalist sheets speak of the negroes preparing for civil war by forming armed unions for the purpose of killing off all the white population.

The white worker must not be fooled and in order to prove to the capitalist that he no longer believes all the lies printed day by day, he must give his full support to this movement of the South.



A. JOFFE

Former Representative of the Russian Soviet Republic in Germany



A. JOFFE

Former Representative of the Russian Soviet Republic
in Germany

More News from Moscow

By E. Sylvia Pankhurst

VISITORS who have recently arrived from Moscow have at last solved the mystery of the fate of the Czar and his family.

It was the policy of the Czarism to form national groups of the prisoners belonging to subject nationalities whom the Czar's armies took from the Austrians. These national groups were organized to fight against Austria on the promise that if Russia won the war she would assure the freedom of the nationalities which had assisted her. Thus in the Czar's time Czecho Slovak prisoners, Italian prisoners and others were fighting for Russia.

Kerensky continued this policy, but when the Soviet Government made peace it of course decided that these bands should stop fighting also. The Czecho Slovaks would have been glad enough to accept the opportunity of peace; but the Allied emissaries who wished to overthrow the Soviets and to bring Russia back into the war, and those whose nationalism made the destruction of Austria appear the paramount consideration, agitated amongst the Czecho Slovak soldiers, saying: "Trotzky is an internationalist; he will send you back to Austria, where you will be executed for fighting against the empire." The story was a plausible one, and when the Soviet Government agreed to allow the Czecho Slovaks to go and fight on the Western Front, the tale that they were really being sent to Austria was still believed. Thus the Czecho Slovaks fought desperately.

How the Czar Died

The Czar at this time was imprisoned with his family at Tobolsk. When Tobolsk was imperilled by the advancing Czecho Slovaks, the Imperial family was removed to Ekaterinburg. On the Czecho Slovaks approaching that city, the president of the local Soviet wired to the Soviet Government in Moscow, asking for instructions. The government replied that the matter was in the hands of the local Soviet, which must decide what could best be done under the circumstances. The local Soviet therefore decided that the Czar must be tried for his crimes. He was condemned to death, taken into a yard and shot. His wife, daughters and young son, who is an invalid unable to walk, were taken away in secret and retained in safe keeping. They are still alive unless any one of them has died of illness, and the Pope, knowing this, subsequently sent a note to Lenine offering to take them under his protection.

Our visitors further stated that all foodstuffs are now rationed, and private speculation has ceased, partly because the rich during two years have spent most of their ready money and partly because they have only money to give in exchange for food, and the value of money is not great in Russia. The Soviet Government, on the other hand, gives to the peasants in return for good agricultural implements and other things they need. Naturally the peasants prefer to deal with the Soviets.

Some months ago meat which could be bought for 3½ roubles with the ration card cost 22 roubles from the speculators. The speculators made even greater profits out of other commodities; it is not remarkable



M. LITVINOFF

Member of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs

that idlers found their money quickly disappearing.

Now that speculation in food is practically stamped out, everyone must work to qualify for food. All rations are now equal for all workers.

Work and Education

The hours of labor were originally fixed by the Soviets at 8 per day; they have now been reduced to 6, with two hours' instruction. The two hours' instruction per day is compulsory for those who cannot read and write, but optional for others. The choice of subjects is optional, the chosen courses of study may be academic, technical, or manual, and all education is free for children and adults. Those who desire to add to the two hours' study may of course do so in their spare time.

Military Training and C.O.'s.

All workers must receive some military instruction each week. This varies according to the knowledge of the individual. Conscientious objectors are relieved of this duty on declaring a conscientious objection; but the conscientious objections to defending Soviet Russia have disappeared during the two years' war which world capitalist-imperialism has made upon her.

There is no difficulty in getting recruits for the Red Army; indeed the difficulty is to keep back the industrial workers anxious to go to the front; if a

soldier is kept away from the front for more than a week or two he makes a protest. We asked whether the love of adventure or a preference for the military life or its conditions was the cause of this. Our friends replied that the recruits are animated mainly by desire to protect Soviet Russia and that 90 per cent. of the Red soldiers are convinced communists.

Sabotage

The Soviet administration was at one time much troubled by sabotage, not by the proletariat, but by those who had sprung from the richer classes. For instance during last winter, when potatoes were short, and it was advertised that potatoes would be given out at a certain place, the official responsible had the potatoes removed, so that when the people assembled in a queue to get them, there were no potatoes there. As everyone knows, this is the sort of thing that irritates a crowd. A more serious case of sabotage was that of Vazetic, who was in supreme command of the Red Army and turned traitor.

The proletariat has never taken part in sabotage against the Soviets, and this evil is steadily becoming rarer.

People sprung from all the old social classes begin to unite in support of the Soviets. Ex-capitalists themselves begin to discover that they are living in a world which is happier for them, as well as for those once employed by them. The man who has a small piece of land or a small workshop developed by the labor of his own hands, and not by employing others, finds that the Soviet administration does not rob him, but that it assists him.

Wages and Money

An equal wage is not yet established, but wage differentiations are not great, and the importance of money is diminishing. Wage earners are divided, broadly speaking, into two categories; the skilled and the unskilled, those who possess special training or skill getting, say, 25 roubles, where those who are unskilled get 20 roubles. But the committee of the factory or office makes additional allowances for the children; and wages vary more in relation to the size of the family than in relation to the work done by the recipient. Thus an unskilled worker is often paid more than a skilled worker. Managers are paid on a level with skilled workers as a rule. Rations are

equal, hospitals are free, furniture and houses are nationalized, education, books and meals at school, milk and other necessities for the children are free. Differences in wages are therefore of little moment. What, indeed, one may ask, does the person who earns a higher salary than others find to do with it? Does he save it? We are told that no one saves money; there is no reason to save; there are no savings banks. Surplus wages are spent on having one's photograph taken, going to the theatre, and so on.

Workers Abolish Wages

The workers in one factory, where 8,000 people are employed, have decided to abolish wages altogether, the workers getting freely all that they want by drafts on the Soviet stores. If they wish to go to the photographer, the theatre, and so on, the cost is charged up to their factory committee. There are constant applications for work in this factory where wages are not paid.

There is complete freedom in Russia to preach for or against religion, but the Soviets do not pay for either kind of propaganda. The priests have no State stipend, but live on their supporters, though if they chose they might do productive work and preach in their spare time. Some of the priests are preaching against the Soviets, and declaring that Lenine is the anti-Christ. The result is that some of the peasants, especially in Siberia, finding that their conditions are revolutionized for the better since Lenine came to power, have got the story mixed, and believe that Lenine is a second Christ.

Advice to the Workers of Other Countries

Lenine, our visitors emphatically stated is in favor of *Direct Action*. The Russian communists they declared to be convinced that communists must not join with the old-fashioned Social Democrats in their efforts to capture Parliament, for to do so would take a hundred years. Everyone who enters Parliament, they say, becomes a soul lost to communism, or perhaps a soul bought from it.

At the recent Communist Congress in Moscow advice was given to the workers of other countries. Soldiers were urged to demobilize themselves, taking their arms with them, for one cannot meet a gun with a stick, and if the workers strike they must not be beaten by firearms.



KARL LIEBKNECHT



N. BUCHARIN
Late Member, Moscow Soviet



ROSA LUXEMBURG

on a level with skilled workers as a rule. Rations are beaten by firearms.



KARL LIEBKNECHT



N. BUCHARIN
Late Member, Moscow Soviet



ROSA LUXEMBURG

Shop Committees at Work

My boss is a constant reader of the Voice of Labor and I cannot afford at the present time, to give him the pleasure of firing me—therefore excuse the lack of signature.

TEN months ago in one of the shops in Boston, Mass., a group of workers organized a shop committee. Its aim was to distribute literature among their fellow-shopmates, to explain the nature of the class struggle, to arouse class-consciousness, to interest them in reading and subscribing for publications of the working class.

We believe our committee was one of the pioneers of this kind of shop propaganda committee.

Since then we find that shop committees are advocated in more than one program and it seems to us that shop committees in formation and the ones recently organized, can profit by our experiences. The following figures will give them an idea of our activities.

Received during the past ten months:

On subscription lists.....	\$350.00
From entertainments.....	155.00
From picnic.....	95.00
Donations from Socialist branches	250.00
Drawing tickets sold.....	100.00
Sales of literature, etc.....	170.00

Total receipts\$1120.00

All this money has been expended for literature and the following amount (in round numbers) distributed:

The Revolutionary Age (weekly)	48,000 copies
Bolsheviki and Soviets (pamphlets)	2,000 copies
Tchicherin's address to the workers (leaflet)...	10,000 copies
The first of May (leaf- let)	230,000 copies
The Voice of Labor (first four issues).....	25,000 copies

And scores of other papers, pamphlets, and leaflets in smaller in quantities.

Fellow workers from other towns have often asked our members, "How did you start, how are you organized?"

How to Organize

The workers of a shop or in certain departments, know each other fairly well. The class-conscious workers of one shop or department who believe their fellow-workers should be educated can talk things over during the noon hour and arrange to meet somewhere outside. All that is needed is the initiative and energy of one or two workers to arouse the others to activity. Elect a secretary, treasurer, and literature committee of two or three. No initiation fees, no dues, no long set of laws or by-laws. Start with voluntary contributions from members at the first meeting. Some can afford to give more than others. Keep minutes and financial accounts. Audit them once in a while. Make rules

as you go along, guided by experience and everyday common sense. Hold committee meetings from time to time in the shop if possible. Get as many more workers interested in reading, subscribing and helping to distribute and sell the literature. Donate some money yourself, even if it is ten cents a week; pass subscription lists around to those who like the paper and want to read it. Get up a smoker on a small scale to start.

What Kind of Literature

Of course, the most important thing is the literature. Two or four-page leaflets are of very little use. They usually are thrown away or stuck in pockets and forgotten.

Papers with long-winded, jaw-breaking, "scientific," dry as dust, to-be-continued-in-our-next articles about abstract theories and factional struggles within the movements gives absolutely no results when distributed among workers who do not know the first thing about the class struggle.

When all the capitalist papers were howling their heads off about the Bolsheviki in Russia, when the workers got over the artificially cultivated war fever and started to ask, "What are the Bolsheviki, what do they stand for?"—we found that there was not a single booklet to give the workers. The Bolsheviki and the Soviets, by A. R. Williams, although only partially filling the need—was the only thing that could be used.

The Voice of Labor

Then the **Voice of Labor** was started. Our shop committee hailed it with joy. We have stood by it through thick and thin and will continue to do so.

The **Voice of Labor** fills the crying need for a popular periodical. It arouses interest and the workers who need such reading, do read it and ask for it. It can and undoubtedly will be improved as the workers themselves rally to its support.

The shop committees who really care for the propaganda work in the shops above all other petty factional strife will distribute and support the **Voice of Labor** as the only paper with a fair chance of success.

One thing above all must be understood by the shop committees. **The literature distributed must be popular, simple, and appealing to the average worker.** So that after receiving it two, three, or four times, free of charge, the worker will ask for it, will subscribe for it and will help to distribute it. No shop committee can keep up free distribution forever.

In many shops the **Voice of Labor** cannot be openly distributed. If the boss or some of the spies see it, the man who does so will be fired on the spot. It would be foolhardy on the part of the shop committees to insist on distribution and get all their members fired one by one. The trick is to keep on working and distributing the **Voice of**

Labor in spite of the hostile bosses and their spies. So other ways must be found. Copies of the **Voice of Labor** can be laid on the worker's tool box or work-bench when the spies or bosses are absent. You ought to see how quickly the workers pick them up and hide them in their pockets.

Comrades out of work, or newsboys, can distribute them for a small sum of money, at the gates, on streets or in street cars when the workers return from work.

Bundles of the **Voice of Labor** can be very profitably distributed or sold in union meetings. Some unions are full of company spies. Let an outside brother member of the same union—other shop and other local—come visiting and do the job. Or have somebody stand outside the door and give one to everyone going in or going out. In more progressive unions the shop committee should insist that the union order a bundle of the **Voice of Labor** and pay for it.

Every strike and strikers' meeting should be visited. In a picnic held by striking machinists of Bos-

ton, members of our shop committee sold hundreds of the **Voice of Labor** and donated all money received to the strike fund. That's doing propaganda and making friends.

Newsboys should be engaged to sell it on the streets. Subscription cards must be passed around after free distribution. Any man, member or not, arrested for distributing literature must be bailed out immediately and imposed fines must be paid by the shop committee.

Yes, it means work. The working class of America is waking and showing fight against the millionaire masters—the capitalist class of America.

The poison of misinformation, the lies and mudslinging of the capitalist press must be met by clear-cut agitation and propaganda for One Big Union of all the workers with a revolutionary aim and object: the uniting of all the workers into a revolutionary industrial union for the abolition of the capitalist system and inauguration of a Workers' Republic. Are you doing your share in hastening that event?

Labor in India

By DR. N. S. Hardiker

Managing Editor "Young India"

THE most glaring result of British Imperialistic rule in India is to be seen in the misery and degradation of the workers. Of the three hundred and fifteen millions inhabitants, three hundred and six million are laborers—84 per cent. of these working in agriculture and the remainder in industry.

These millions, who feed and clothe the rest of the world have not even a full meal a day and possess but a few rags to hide their nakedness. They are housed under the most indescribably filthy conditions. They work from 12 to 16 hours a day, and their wages average about 75 cents a week. They are illiterate and ignorant. Is there any country on earth which can compare with India in the terribleness of its working conditions? "Though conditions are bad enough here (in England) in India one has touched the lowest level" writes the special correspondent of the *London Daily Herald*.

Housing Conditions

The housing problem is one of the most serious which faces the people. Bitter criticism of the neglect by the British of this most vital problem had filled the press of the country as well as of England. In a recent speech, Mr. Ben Spoor, Labor member of Parliament, gave some startling figures about the heavy mortality due to insanitary housing conditions. "Reference has been made," he declared, "to the congested areas, to those awful conditions that intensified plague and made the ravage of disease still more terrible. When they remembered that in the great city of Bombay there were nearly 750,000 people living in one-room tenements, when they remembered that the infantile death rate in the city of Calcutta in 1915 was 540 per 1,000, and in 1916 was 675, they could not but feel there had been something seriously wrong with the method of

government." Despite the clamor from Englishmen and Indians alike comparatively nothing has been done to mitigate the evil.

Hours of Labor

Coming to the factory we find conditions just as disheartening. There is labor legislation, but it is shamefully inadequate. The Factory Act fixes the working day at 12 hours, maximum. But the laborer actually works more than 12 hours, because, living 3, 4, or 5 miles away from the factory, where rents are cheaper than in the crowded city, he must spend three or four hours walking to and from work. This means getting up before daybreak, that he may reach the factory by 6 o'clock, and reaching home after nightfall, too tired to enjoy the company of his family. So his whole life passes. A Commission appointed in 1911 found that it was impossible to get men over forty to walk to the mills. This is not surprising, for after a few years work the men are worn out. As a matter of fact, not many live to the age of forty. The average length of life in India is 23 years, whereas in England it is 40.

Wages

Though working hours are long and tedious, wages are miserably low. In a recent investigation of wages paid in the Bombay cotton mills it was discovered that winders and sweepers receive as low as 66 cents a week. The highest wages of all are paid to the weavers, and ranged from \$3.71 to \$5.94 per week. Following the Bombay mill strike wages were increased about 15%. The cost of living has increased about 80%. Profits at the same time increased from 300 to 400%. The shares of the Bengal Iron Co., which before the war stood at about 5 shillings (about \$1.25), have jumped to Five Pounds, 10 shillings (about \$23.44).

Labor Unions

Such glaring injustices are beginning to be felt and understood by the workers. Slowly, but in ever increasing numbers, they are beginning to organize. Labor unions, which only a few years ago were unheard of in the country, are being formed in all of the large cities. In Madras there are unions of the textile workers, the press workers, the railway workers, and the rickshaw drivers. In all, about 20,000 people are connected with one union or another. In Bombay, the India Labor Union has recently come into existence. In the United Provinces, the agricultural workers have formed an organization with 450 branches under the leadership of Pandit M. M. Malaviya. Prominent men throughout the country are endeavoring to unionize the workers.

Remedies

By coercion and repression the government believes that it will crush the spirit of awakening labor. But guns and armored cars will not still the cry for bread. So long as the workers are forced to work for long hours for a wage which is not even sufficient to supply their families with one decent meal a day, so long as they are forced to live in filthy, unventilated, gloomy hovels, so long as they are deprived of every right and pleasure there cannot be an end to the unrest and strikes now spreading like wildfire over the whole country.

In order to remedy this state of affairs it is first necessary to abolish British misrule and allow the inhabitants of India to govern themselves. By this it is not inferred that the peoples of India will be satis-

field to serve and accept the rulings of their potentates or any other group of capitalists. Capitalism in India is as yet in its infancy and by the removal of the iron heel of British imperialism it would be comparatively easy to establish a communistic system of society, as such a system was in vogue less than a generation ago.

The pen is mightier than the sword; and knowing this, the British government, under their "enlightened" rule, deliberately neglected the education of the workers. Even in manual training the workers have to remain in total ignorance, (it is considered to be for the best interests of the country to import skilled workers) and the result is that agricultural schools are practically unknown. Industrial training can be obtained outside of India only. Those of the younger men who can get away to study trades and professions are only few in number. The vast majority must remain at their unskilled work, without opportunity for promotion or improvement, with a cheerless future of poverty before them from the minute they enter the factory. Recreation centers are unknown. From the gloom of the factory to the dingy closeness of his home the worker sees nothing but hopelessness and misery before him and his family, and his reaction to this is a fatalistic outlook upon life, which enervates both mind and body.

Editor's note.—The solution to the problem as expressed by the writer, is not, in our opinion, the correct one. The workers in India must be prepared to abolish the system of caste and their superstitions which were introduced to them at the inception of capitalism. British capitalistic rule certainly should be overthrown, but at the same time the system which allows for any domination of a few parasites must be destroyed.



ABOUT TIME



ABOUT TIME

An Appeal from France

AT the moment when the representatives of the labor world are everywhere meeting in Congresses, when the organizations of the working-class are convoking their national and international assemblies with the purpose of studying the means of ameliorating the lot of the workers and of realizing their liberation, numerous problems arise before you, augmenting the number of those which you must solve.

The war has plunged Europe into an economic chaos, the baleful consequences of which are being borne by the workers. whenever you claim the right to better life you meet with the resistance of those persons who have drawn the most profit from the bloody and tragic catastrophe and whose intention it is to make you bear the crushing burden of the debts which weigh down the country.

The high cost of living, transportation crises, under-production, are the order of the day, yet the workers, the constant victims of the ills which follow wars, obtain, as a salvation of their wrongs, only—advice.

Work! say the idle who live on the products of your work. Produce! say the capitalists who benefit by your production. And all those who build up their fortunes on the basis of your labor and who are wallowing in plenty while you lack mere necessities, scatter their misinformation in order to show you the disadvantages of an eight-hour day, in order to demonstrate the necessity of self-denial, in order to bend you under the yoke of exploitation.

Look to Your Interests

We address you in our turn but we know that the working class organizations themselves must outline a policy and hand out the commands. We know that it is up to you to deliberate independently and to decide in absolute detachment from other influences.

But we know also that it is the duty of those who follow events closely, who are studying certain problems, who have gathered all the facts and accumulated the important standpoints, to place before you the arguments and to submit to you the reasons from which you must draw your conclusions.

We are approaching you, workers, and are admonishing you to understand the real cause of the present crisis, the real interests that must guide you.

No fact must be considered separately. No economic or social phenomenon can be detached from the sum total of such phenomena. No event can be taken out of the chain of events.

There is also a crisis because there has been war, in other words, because there has been destruction.

The crisis is getting worse because war is continuing.

The war is still going on in Europe on immense fronts. The blood of the workers and peasants is

flowing in rivers. Ruins are being piled upon ruins. Constructive work has yielded place to destructive rage.

Russia which used to feed all of Europe, has been isolated, blockaded, besieged. The industrious Russian people, assailed from all sides, have deserted the field, the factory, the workshop to take up arms and defend their threatened rights.

How can one half of Europe be concerned with re-construction and abundance while the other half is ravaged and covered with blood?

How can production be increased while the factories are still making cannon and ammunitions for the armies of the counter-revolution? How can we remedy the transportation crisis when trains are still being loaded with soldiers and material for the war in Russia? How can the cost of living go down while Western Europe is still depriving itself of immense supplies of provisions and raw materials which are lying unused in Eastern Europe? How, finally, can the wounds of the old continent be alleviated, and how can the sufferings of the peoples be lessened, while the work of ruin and death is still going on?

Workers, you must not, you cannot lose sight of the fact that peace will not be peace until it is concluded formally with Soviet Russia. The high cost of living will be still higher, production will be smaller, transportation will become less and less sufficient as long as peace is denied to Russia.

And that is not all.

Russia Will Strengthen Us

The French workers are directly interested in the welfare of the Russian revolution. They will have to renounce for a long time, all their homes if the Russian people are defeated. They will themselves suffer the consequences of a reactionary victory. The fate of all workers is closely allied, their common demands will triumph together or will be defeated together; the misfortunes in their struggles are felt all over.

The extinguisher of the flame of the Russian revolution will mean might for all of Europe.

The triumph of Denikin's knout over the Russian workers means the triumph of Ludendorff's fist over the German workers and soon the triumph of Marshall Foch's whip over the French workers.

Ponder this well! Don't wait until it is too late!

And now that we have appealed to your reason, now that we have appealed to your interests, let us also appeal to your hearts. We know that an appeal will not be made in vain "to the great heart of the working class."

For more than five years the people of Russia have known no peace and no rest. They have been led as herds almost without armies on to battlefields where death has decimated them. More than any other people, they have known every misery and endured every suffering. They have had not even an illusion, not even the consolation of sacri-

ficing themselves for just causes; for the hangman and despot Czar could not invoke democracy; the Czar, oppressor of subject peoples could not invoke the right of peoples to dispose of their own destiny. The sufferers of famine, of subjection, of exploitation, however, aroused the Russian people from their torpor. They rebelled and gained their liberty. But from all sides enemies of their liberty rose in fury against them. All the reactionary movements of the world have united to strike them down, all the forces of possession are in league to crush them.

The Russian people has no sympathizers except among other workers. It has no other allies but you. They expect no salvation but from your solidarity!

Will you not be moved by the terrible suffering of your brothers in Russia who have already been suffering for years in your common cause, for your common emancipation?

Russia Wants Peace

We conjure you not to forget the heroic Russian pioneers which watered with their generous blood the road which leads to your ideal.

The tortured peoples greeted with joy the end of

the atrocious war; the Russian people alone did not rejoice. For them no such thing as a truce!

And yet they want peace. They have made one proposition after another for definite, formal, concrete peace. They are ready to pay any price that is necessary for peace. They have offered to recognize debts contracted by Czarism; they have proposed the most valuable material guaranteed. All attempts at conciliation have gone to pieces in the face of the ill will of the Allied governments who are supporting the Czarist adventures.

Money by the hundreds of millions, contributed by French taxpayers, is wasted on a sabre rattlers and emigres who are working for the re-establishment of the old regime. Millions composed of the pennies of the ration are feeding the infamous war against the Russian people.

You only, you workers, have the power to stop this thing.

It is for you to utter the words that are needed: it is for you to make the decisions which are forced upon us. Peace for Russia! Peace for Russia!

When this cry comes from your breasts it will be heard all over the world.

Le Comité de la Société des Amis de Russie.

THE IRISH LABOR PARTY and Trade Union Congress sent the following letter and resolution to President Wilson:—

Sir:—

I have been instructed to forward to you the following resolution passed at their meeting on September 13th, 1919, by the National Executive of the Irish Labor Party and Trade Union Congress representing the organized workers in Ireland.

Moved by Cathal O'Shannon and seconded by Thomas Johnson: That—The National Executive of the Irish Labor Party and Trade Union Congress begs to inform the President of the United States of America, as convener of the International Conference of Labor to be held at Washington in October in accordance with the Paris Covenant of the League of Empires, that, as that conference is not a Labor conference and by its origin and constitution has already forfeited the confidence of the working class, no delegate has the right to speak or act or accept decisions in the name of the workers of Ireland and organized labor in this country.

WM. O'BRIEN,
Secretary.

Many delegates have already arrived in this country to attend the International Conference, but in every case they represent nobody but themselves. Most of them have proved themselves traitors to the International working class movement during the past five years, having played into the hands of the capitalists at the expense of the men and women whose interests they were supposed to represent. In turn, they have been discarded by the bosses, only being used on occasions such as this in an attempt to create a favorable impression with the workers in other countries.



The papers say that Wilson's appetite is improv'g.
"It's a good thing our appetite don't improve, Bill."



The papers say that Wilson's appetite is improvin'.
"It's a good thing our appetite don't improve, Bill."

Bolshevik Reprisals

A Radio Message Sent by Soviet Russia to the British Government

IT is with disgust and indignation that the Soviet Government learnt of the horrible inhuman treatment to which the Russian prisoners of war are subjected to by the British command of Archangel.

If the British Government have made themselves indirectly responsible for untold atrocities and brutalities committed on Russian workers and peasants by their agents, the Kolchaks, Denikins, Judenichs and Hallers, brutalities compared to which the methods of the Spanish inquisition were mere child's play, proofs have now been obtained of similar treatment received by Russian war prisoners directly at the hands of British commanders on the North of Russia. Some red armies escaped from British captivity have reported that many of their comrades have been shot immediately when taken prisoners, that they themselves have been mercilessly beaten with buttends, placed in prisons and made to work to utter exhaustion while insufficiently fed and threatened with being shot in case of their refusing to enlist in the Slay-British counter-revolutionary legion and to turn traitors to their former brothers in arms, and that in a number of cases such threats have been actually carried out.

It is hereby brought to the notice of the British Government that in consequence of the above statement, the Soviet Government have found themselves compelled to withdraw the many privileges and liberties hitherto accorded to British officers, prisoners in

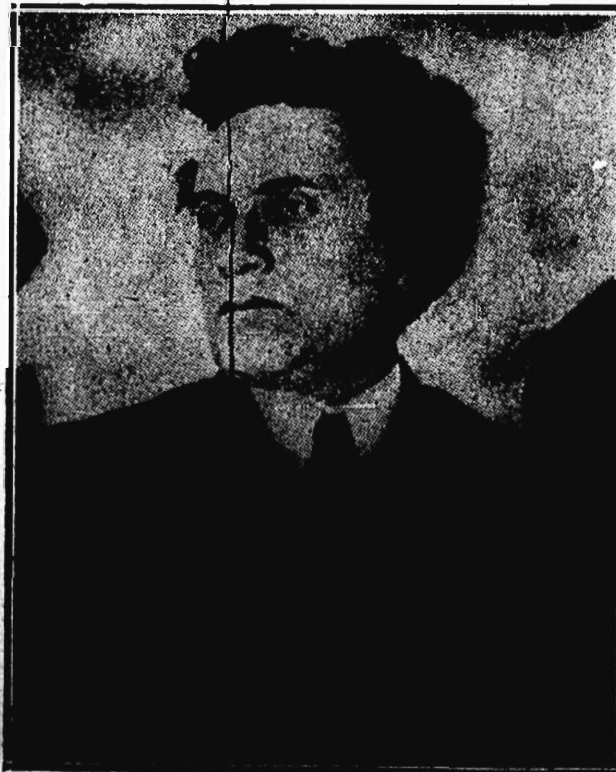
Moscow, as well as to those recently brought from the Onega front.

Seeing that protests can be of no avail and knowing the indifference of the British Government to the sufferings of Russians who do not support the counter-revolutionary movement, the Soviet Government had to adopt this course in the hope that it may induce the British commanders to give Russian prisoners of war a more humane treatment thereby improving the conditions of life of their own fellow officers. The Soviet Government will however continue to treat most liberally British soldier war prisoners of the working classes except those who volunteered for service in Russia in the cause of European reaction and monarchical restoration.

As to the insolent threats contained in the radio message of Lord Curzon of Kedleston of August 10th, the Soviet Government declares that no blackmail can have any effect on their policy. Any repetition of such threats addressed personally to members of the Russian Government and characteristic only of the mentality of their authors will cause the Soviet Government to consider whether they can entertain any further negotiations with the present British Government even on questions like that of the exchange of prisoners.

Peoples Commissary for Foreign Affairs,

TCHITCHERIN.



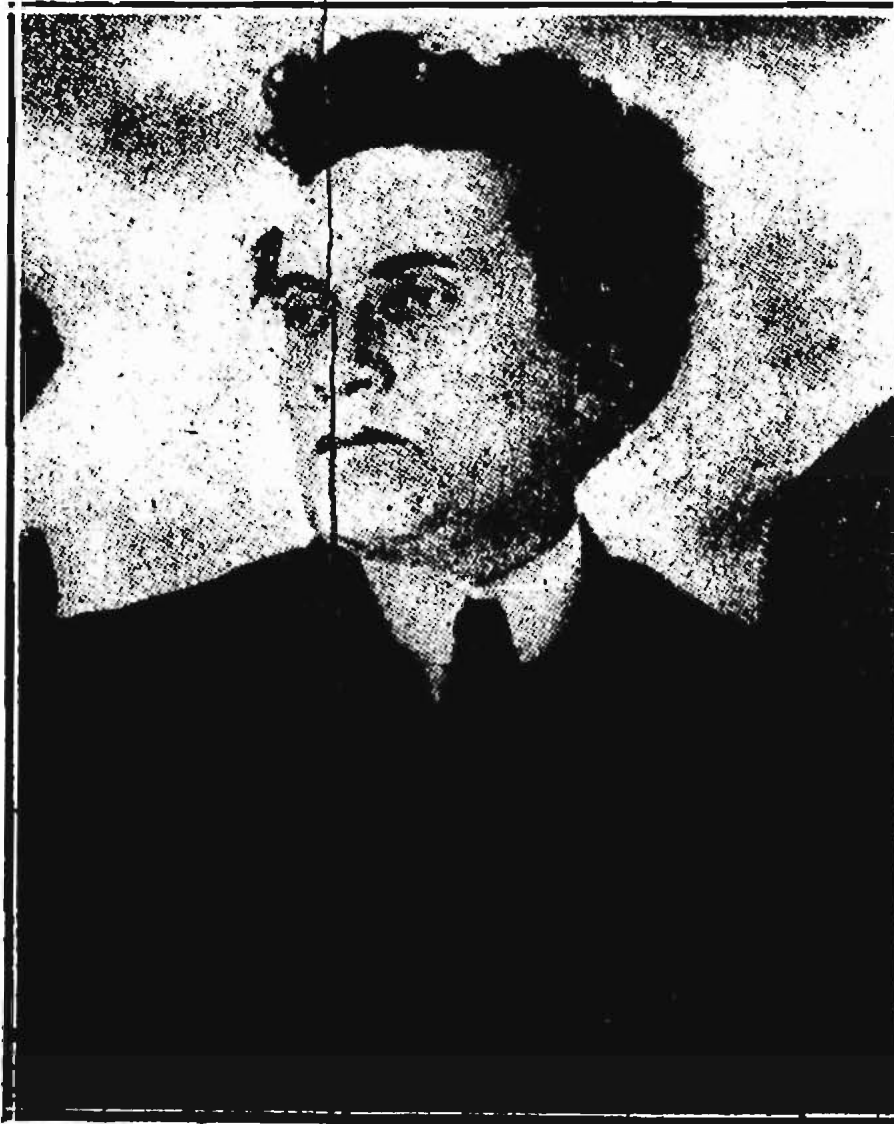
G. ZINOVIEFF

Chairman of the Petrograd Soviet



A. LUNACHARSKY

Peoples' Commissioner of Education



G. ZINOVIEFF
Chairman of the Petrograd Soviet



A. LUNACHARSKY
Peoples' Commissioner of Education

The Future of the U. S. A

By Samuel F. Hankin

THAT Labor and Capital have nothing in common—that their interests are different—that they are in constant struggle with one another for the control of industry and governmental machinery—that while the two may meet in conference and shake hands with their right, they are holding daggers behind them in their left, ready to strike each other the fatal blow—that the two can never come to any favorable agreement, unless labor should give up its right to exist as an organized body—all this is now being realized by the most conservative and reactionary labor leaders of this country. They are being convinced through experience that conferences between representatives of Labor and Capital does not give the worker daily bread for himself and his family: that other means, more effective than conferences must be used to make capital yield—and that is the calling of a mass—general strike of all trades in all industries.

The Labor Conference

Labor bolted the industrial conference after it learned that Capital denies the right of unions to exist, and the United States is now facing the gravest labor crisis in its history. After every vital demand of organized labor had been defeated the representatives of labor left the hall.

The failure of the industrial conference, attended by men chosen by President Wilson—pard me—I meant Colonel House, the real president of this country, the tie-up of industry by the great steel strike, threat of a country-wide strike of the railroad employes, alarmed greatly the financial barons of this plutocratic government.

The economic situation of the United States is very grave.

The life of the conference ended with the defeat of the resolution proposed by Labor, in spite of the letter sent by President Wilson to the conference, appealing to both parties to remain in session: "My friends," said Mr. Wilson, "this—(the split in the conference) would be an invitation to national disaster." What is the "national disaster" Mr. Wilson speaks of? Yes—he well knows that the days of the rule of Capital in this country are reaching their end, and the situation in this country to-day are such, that a break between Capital and Labor may precipitate that inevitable day, the day of "national disaster."

The resolution which caused the bolting of the conference by the representatives of labor reads:

"The right of wage earners to organize without discrimination, to bargain collectively, to be represented by representatives of their own choosing in negotiations and adjustments with employers in respect to wages, hours of labor and relations and conditions of employment, is recognized."

The final break came about when this resolution was not passed. There was, however, disagreement between the two main parties involved in this conference before the defeat of the resolution, which prompted President Wilson to send his message in

which he gives the signal to the industrial corporations to prepare for disaster." It took a tool of capital "they who work and the men who own" industry are so set upon divergent paths that co-operation is doomed to failure," and yet here we had "labor leaders" playing the bitterest enemies of the workers.

"National Disaster"

The country's great steel plants are crippled by the steel strike throughout the country. The strike is blooming as it was the first day. False reports are coming in daily about the flocking of steel workers to the mills, but these are capitalist means of breaking the morale of the strikers. The steel workers are as courageous as ever. They possess the endurance and fighting-spirit characteristic of rebel workers. They are not at all scared by the steel barons in their efforts to discredit their leaders by calling them Bolsheviki agitators.

That the steel strike is delivering hard blows to the financial barons of this country can be seen from the reports of the strike in the Pennsylvania Strike District, where the famous Cossack Regime reigns. Strike meetings are broken up, State Troopers rush through the crowds, trampling men, women and children under foot. At Homestead, Pa., men are stopped on the streets, arrested and fined, without any charges against them. Peaceful homes of strikers are being raided, and their "property" is destroyed. Men are beaten and imprisoned; medical care refused them, while held in jail. All this is done, not in old despotic Russia, but in the democratic Republic of the United States. Wake up from your sleep. What have the workers to fear that a strike may lead to national disaster? What will they lose, when they lose their wives and children are trampled beneath the hoofs of State Troopers? Will they lose their property, homes or factories, which they have not? The only thing they will lose will be their chains which bind them to their masters. Will a general strike of all trades, tying up this country, be a national disaster? NO—not by any means. It will be a disaster for the undesired financial barons. It may be such a blow that they will be helpless—at the mercy of slaves—the wage workers.

A nation-wide coal strike Nov. 1 is a certainty. The proposal granting the miners a wage increase, but rejected by the miners. The path for a railroad strike is being paved. Switchmen are now striking in West Pullman. Railroad workers all over the country will strike to paralyze the steel industry.

There are many great industrial upheavals now in this country making the economic situation very grave. The workers, the count over, are awakening to their class-consciousness—they are learning to use their most effective tool to combat Capital—the GENERAL STRIKE.

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My Own Shop

"All's Clear" for the Railroad Shopmen

By Bill ———

IT appears reasonably accurate to claim that the different organizations composing the human motive power of the railroads in this country are more important to capitalist development than workers in other industries. Ever since labor has attempted to raise its head in protest against unfavorable working conditions, long number of hours and small wages—railroad labor has been looked upon as one of those in whose hands rests the welfare of the whole nation. When they lay down their tools, everything immediately comes to a standstill. It was the railroad industry that was first taken over by all the governments at war during the past five years. It was the railroad men, first the Brotherhoods and then the shopmen that first received recognition by this government, and all their demands were granted with very little or no fuss at all.

4 Cents and the Grand Lodge

Something has happened, however, recently that appears very strange to many people. The shopmen asked for 17 cents an hour increase and got only 4 cents. No more of that disposition of the government, as during the war, to grant their demands. There is a reason for that; the government now is in a better position to fight back in its protection of capitalist interests should the workers show dissatisfaction over the award. The first move made by the railroad administration was to call together the Grand Lodge officers and well paid business agents of the shopmen in a nicely furnished room at the White House, get the President of the United States to tell that profiteering is under investigation, and therefore the cost of living will soon be reduced, finally, that the government cannot afford to pay the men more than a 4 cent increase, with a special appeal to the men to be patriotic and God knows that everything will be all right. Naturally the Labor Lords replied—Amen.

It takes the railroad worker, the one who does the real work, to really understand the feeling of the men about this 4 cent increase. The men voted to reject the offer, but the Grand Lodge officers (the House or the Grand Lodge officers) said "You've got to take it." What is the rank and file going to do about it? To recall these Grand Lodge officers would be dealing with effects, but leaving the cause untouched.

Craft Unionism at Its Worst

The real fault is in the form of organization. Let us examine the conditions prevailing at the Reading shops. These same conditions can be found in any railroad shop in the country. We have more organizations in the shops than you could count on your fingers. Hammer-makers, Machinists, Blacksmiths, Machinist helpers, Sheet Metal Workers,

Electrical Workers, Carmen, Upholsterers, Painters, Office Clerks, Carpenters, Acetylene Welders, and others. All of them working on the construction of a locomotive, car and tender. All have their own craft union with their sets of officials, drawing large salaries. Suppose the men voted to strike in order to enforce their demands. First they have to ask permission from the different Grand Lodges and the President of the Railroad Employees of the A. F. of L. These labor lords, being away from the shops many years and not feeling the effects of the high cost of living, naturally say "No, we will not give our sanction." This condition exists to-day under our present form of organization. All the men are organized, but still divided. There are as many shop committees as there are craft unions and they never meet together to discuss each others' grievances. When committees make their reports of meetings with the management, one craft does not know what action the other crafts are taking. No joint discussion, no unity of action. The officialdom do not wait the men to meet together. The following facts will illustrate the point:—One Thursday morning we all went on strike to impress upon the government that we were in earnest about the 17 cents demanded. We stayed out 9 days, and during this time there were very few strike meetings held. Each craft had their own meeting at their own headquarters. The Grand Officers appeared and threatened to revoke all charters if we did not return to work immediately, so on the ninth day we voted to go back, some on the Saturday and others on the Monday. Now we are calling ourselves darned fools for going on strike at all.

Get Together! Boys!

These conditions are possible because of the divisions among the men. The bosses can enforce their orders, and the labor officials can ignore us because of this division. We are meeting different conditions to-day than we did years ago, and our present form of organization has outlived its usefulness. We have vested our officials with power and supplied them with money which they are now using against the wishes of the rank and file. The 4 cent affair should convince us more than anything else about the truthfulness of the conditions pointed out. Our present affiliations are not complete and at the same time are too complex. Railroad employees should be organized and affiliated industrially, into One Big Union with one big treasury. That would bring about unity of action with large funds to back us up. It would take away the veto power out of the hands of the many sets of Grand Lodge officers, leaving the men to self determination. We are no longer railroad craftsmen, but railroad shopmen and should organize as such.